The Forum.

JULY, 1893.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

LET be the herds and what the harvest brings;
Give to oblivion all that's sold and bought,
The count of unrememberable things;—
Our better birthright is this day's report!
Live our sires in us? Keep we their old skill
To know Occasion's whisper and be great?
Can our proud blood in one contagious thrill
Put admiration in the eyes of Fate?
Wide is our realm, the twin seas feel our yoke,
Aye, and the oarless ocean of the North;—
Are we then mightier than that scattered folk,
That fringe of clingers by the sea-beach froth
Whose loins begat us? Let to-morrow show
If their stern arts hereditary grow.

CHARLES LEONARD MOORE.

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THE GRAND ARMY AS A PENSION AGENCY.

A DISTINGUISHED student at Harvard once said that republics are proverbially ungrateful, and perhaps this fact may account in no small degree for the diminished esteem in which, of late years, the Grand Army of the Republic seems to be held. It may not, however, be entirely unprofitable to spend a few minutes in tracing the career of the organization from its humble beginnings in 1866 to its present condition in 1893, and thereby if possible to determine how far its perversion from its original praiseworthy ideals into something of the nature of a mere wholesale pension-claim agency may explain the phenomenon.

Some two and a quarter millions of men had been enlisted in our army during the war of the rebellion and of these, three hundred and sixty thousand had died or been killed, when in 1865 the war was concluded. This left nearly two million men in round numbers who had in some way been in the military service of the United States during the war. The Secretary of War, after Lee's surrender, ordered a review of the two principal armies, in Washington, before the final muster-out. During this review, a sign was displayed along the front of the Capitol, on which was inscribed the legend—"The only national debt we can never pay is the debt we owe the victorious Union soldiers." Then the armies were mustered out and went home. Naturally the various regiments and companies made arrangements for future meetings and commemorations, each in its own locality, and in this way various societies, such as those of the Army of the Cumberland, the Army of the Tennessee, the Army of the Potomac, and the like, were formed, many of which are still kept up.

The idea of a national organization seems to have originated in the brain of Dr. B. F. Stephenson, the Surgeon, and the Rev. William J. Rutledge, the Chaplain, of the 14th Illinois Infantry. Various conferences were held in Springfield, Illinois, during the winter of 1865–6, and in February, 1866, Dr. Stephenson initiated into the order his two partners in the "drug store" he was keeping. A name was adopted, and on April 6, 1866, Dr. Stephenson organized the

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first post in the "Grand Army of the Republic." Twelve persons were mustered into the order. The Constitution was adopted on May 9 and is substantially the same as that now in force.

A convention was held in Springfield on July 12, 1866, at which the object of the order was said to be mainly "to aid in furnishing employment to the poor and to those wounded and disabled in the service of the country." The first national encampment was held at Indianapolis on November 20, 1866. Among the resolutions adopted, we find the following:—

"That as a matter of justice and right, and because the sacrifices made and dangers encountered by the Union soldiers and sailors who served in the late war for the preservation of the country, cannot ever be fully repaid, we respectfully ask that those in authority bestow upon needy and worthy soldiers and sailors such positions of honor and profit as they may be competent to fill; and while we seek nothing for ourselves, or those of our comrades who are able to maintain themselves, we do earnestly recommend this request to the consideration of those in authority."

This resolution, with its plaintive reference to "dangers encountered" and its mild recommendation to "those in authority" to "bestow," was probably composed by a chaplain, but it bears the impress of the spirit of those days, as does also another adopted on the same occasion, but which has quite a different ring to it:—

"That in our opinion no man is worthy to be a free citizen of a free country who is not willing to bear arms in its defence, and we therefore suggest to Congress the passage of a law making it the inexorable duty of every citizen to defend his country in time of need, in person and not by substitute."

Of course, there is not much sense in this sort of thing; but do we not feel that the man who indited that sentence was not thinking of getting a pension?

At this Convention, General S. A. Hurlbut, of Illinois, was elected Commander-in-Chief, but it appears that he did not have much time to give to the Grand Army, so that no Convention was called for 1867 and the business was generally neglected. This was the cause of much concern among many members, and some of the more active felt called upon "to strongly advise the Commander-in-Chief of the evil consequences of such delay." A conference was held in Philadelphia and arrangements were made to have a convention called by the Senior Vice-Commander-in-Chief if the Commander could not be brought to see the error of his ways. The step apparently produced the desired effect; for in December, General Hurlbut

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issued an order calling for a Convention to meet in Philadelphia on January 15, 1868.

At this Convention, twenty-one Departments (States) were represented by 186 delegates. The financial statement showed receipts of $352 and disbursements of $1,637, a deficiency of $1,285. An assessment was ordered of one dollar for each Post in the organization and the report of the following year showed that it brought in $302. The deficiency was made up then by General J. T. Owen, of Philadelphia. It took the organization three years to repay the advance. Resolutions were adopted calling on Congress

"to provide some regulation, so that honorable service as a soldier or sailor of the country may constitute a qualification for appointment to civil office, and that in the several Departments of the Government a definite and equitable number from this class of citizens be chosen from the list of applicants, if shown to present the requisite skill and fitness."

A resolution was also adopted calling upon Congress to

"forever prevent the burial in any of the national cemeteries of any person other than the deceased soldiers and sailors of the Republic for whom they were intended."

General John A. Logan, of Illinois, was elected Commander-in-Chief for the ensuing year and General Joshua T. Owen, of Pennsylvania, Senior Vice-Commander-in-Chief.

On May 5, 1869, General Logan issued an eloquent order designating May 30 for decorating the graves of comrades and directing Department-Commanders to use every effort to make the order effective. The National Encampment in 1869 was held in Cincinnati. In his address to the Convention, General Logan, in stating the objects of the Order, said it

"originated in a desire for mutual protection, aid and education. We never feared that the toils and sufferings of our soldiery would be forgotten, or fail to be appreciated by the mass of our countrymen. . . . We desire, further, by this organization, to commemorate the gallantry and sufferings of our comrades, give aid to bereaved families, cultivate fraternal sympathy among ourselves, find employment for the idle, and, generally, by our acts and precepts, to give the world a practical example of unselfish, manly co-operation."

The resolutions this year call attention to the general neglect to fulfil the promises made by conventions, etc., to give preference to soldiers, so that "our disabled comrades might serve both the country and themselves at the same time, and be enabled to earn an honest and honorable livelihood" and "respectfully ask, in the name of our crippled comrades, the honorable redemption of these pledges."

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General Logan was reëlected Commander-in-Chief. At a special meeting of the National Encampment at Booth's Theatre, New York, October 27, 1869, plans were considered for a badge, a scheme of co-operative life insurance and some other matters.

The annual session in 1870 was held in Washington on May 11. Nineteen Departments were represented by fifty-two delegates. General Logan made one of his usual eloquent speeches and resolutions were adopted urging on the States the propriety of establishing schools for orphans of soldiers and marines who were killed or who died in consequence of wounds received, or disease contracted, while in the service of the United States. Congress was also asked to consider the propriety of donating suitable tracts of land to those soldiers, sailors and marines who honorably served in the army or navy of the Nation during the late war. The cash account showed a balance to the good of nearly nine hundred dollars, but there were still owing to members for advances some twenty-five hundred dollars. General Logan was again elected Commander-in-Chief.

In 1871, the annual session was held in Boston, on May 10. Seventeen Departments were represented by sixty-eight delegates. General Logan said in his address:—

> "We have assembled here to-day, not as an organization for the purpose of promoting and fostering selfish ends and personal aims, but as the survivors of a mighty, but glorious and successful contest in behalf of liberty and union—not as a band combined for the purpose of planning and plotting for the benefit of a few, or a restricted class, but in behalf of personal freedom, true independence and national honor."

The resolutions in 1871 were a mere reproduction of those of the year before: no financial statement seems to have been made and the general depression indicated that the lofty patriotism of General Logan did not seem to contain the elements necessary to the prosperity of the Order. In this year, Dr. Stephenson, the founder, died, and we are told that his last days were embittered by the apparent failure of his darling project. In Illinois, there was hardly a post alive, and in neighboring States they were entirely dead. The "Grand Army" had practically disappeared in the West and, while Department organizations were maintained in the East, even there Posts had disbanded by the score.

General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island, was elected Commander-in-Chief and Louis Wagner, of Pennsylvania, Vice Commander-in-Chief, for 1872. General Wagner's may be considered

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the first appearance in the Grand Army of the Republic of the new school, and it is to him as much as to any other one man that it owes its continued existence. The founders of the Order were a mild, sentimental set of physicians and clergymen whose ideas were bounded by a kind of camp-meeting horizon and under whose guidance the little army would soon have been lost. Men like Logan and Burnside were found to lend their names and make perfunctory addresses, but the vital spirit did not seem to be there. Commanders-in-chief were selected for their names and the following succeeded: Chas. Devens, Jr., John F. Hartranft, John C. Robinson and finally, in 1880, a Pennsylvania Chaplain named William Earnshaw. All of these gentlemen were amiable, well-meaning persons, but they had no power. Men of action seemed to shun the "Grand Army"; a new dispensation was needed. This was preparing in the ranks of the organization. Men like Wagner, Beath, Rea, Burdett, Palmer and Tanner were coming up behind, bearing the banners and marshalling the battalions that were to make the legislative hosts tremble in their intrenchments.

Louis Wagner is a Hessian, born in 1838 in a little village on the Lahn. He came to this country when he was ten years old and entered the army in 1861. He was mustered into service as First Lieutenant of D Company, 88th Pennsylvania Infantry, September 13, 1861. He was promoted to be Captain of the same company to date May 1, 1862, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, February 24, 1863, and to be Colonel, March 3, 1863. At the end of the war, he was brevetted Brigadier-General. A strong, hard man, used to giving and taking shrewd knocks, General Wagner is the timber of which successful enterprises are made. He is now President of the Third National Bank of Philadelphia: while his enemies complain of his bad manners, his friends swear by him.

While the ineffectual Burnside was spending five or six months of his incumbency in Europe, Wagner was at his post, doing his work in such a way that the Commander-in-Chief was forced to say of him in his next annual address that his "executive ability and high integrity enabled him to do even more for the good of the order than I could have done." The only practical thing that seems to have been done by Burnside was an order to his staff to curtail expenditure. His idea of the soldier's duty was expressed in the following words—"returned to your homes, yielding cheerfully all offices and emoluments, asking nothing for the future but the right to

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enter upon your old pursuits." Nevertheless, a businesslike recommendation was made at this encampment by Comrade Beath, contemplating an increase in pensions.

The Order was represented in 1873, General Burnside's second term, by forty-eight delegates from sixteen Departments. In 1874, fifteen Departments were represented by fifty-one delegates. The Committee on Resolutions recommended "Congressional action for increased pensions to wounded and disabled soldiers and sailors." General Devens was Commander-in-Chief. In 1875, there were fourteen Departments and seventy-eight delegates. This was General Devens's second term, and he said, "The recommendations [for increase of pensions] were forwarded, but I regret that I cannot report any favorable result."

In 1876, under General Hartranft, there was a somewhat better attendance, one hundred delegates being present at the annual session. At the meeting in 1877, General Hartranft's second year, twelve Departments were represented by ninety-six delegates; it seemed as if the Grand Army were looking for a leader. The Commander-in-Chief in his address said, "Our organization is founded upon loyalty to the country. It is intended to perpetuate old friendships, to revive old memories, and for the mutual support and assistance of old comrades."

The first term of General John C. Robinson was in 1878. Eighty-five delegates were present from fourteen Departments. General Robinson said in his address:—

"During the present session of Congress a bill has been introduced, providing that all the pensions on account of death or disability from service in the Union Army, that have been or may hereafter be granted, shall begin with the death or discharge of the soldier. Struck with the justness of this measure, I immediately brought it to the attention of Department Commanders, hoping that action by the several Department Encampments might have an important bearing on its success."

A few stirring words followed, deriding the expense—"as though the services of the men who saved the Union could be requited by a few millions of dollars."

At the meeting for his second term in 1879, General Robinson noted an increase in the attendance of five Departments and twenty-nine delegates. He said:—

"At our last Encampment I called your attention to the bill then pending for the payment of arrears of pensions. It has since become a law, and although the disbursements under it are likely to be much greater than was anticipated, but few persons deny the justice of the measure."

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In 1880, under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief Earnshaw, the attendance was the same as in the preceding year. A resolution was adopted commending a bill introduced by the Hon. J. Warren Keifer, giving pensions to prisoners of war.

In 1881, General Wagner took his seat as Commander-in-Chief, and the new era began. He travelled largely, thus setting the example to subsequent Commanders, and increased the strength of the Order by two hundred and forty Posts and more than fifteen thousand members. He rearranged and consolidated the general and financial organization and breathed the spirit of life into the dry bones of the Grand Army, which from that time has gone on prospering and to prosper. In this year, on the motion of Paul Brodie of the District of Columbia, a committee of thirteen was appointed "to inquire into the subject of pension claims and to report their recommendations to the Commander-in-Chief."

The next year, James Tanner, of New York, reported to an Encampment of two hundred and twenty-seven delegates from twenty-six Departments that the recommendations of his Committee had resulted in an increase of 1210 additional Government clerks for pension cases at an added expense to the Government of $1,742,430, and recommended the appointment of a standing committee of five to have charge of pension matters and to "be authorized to speak in the name of the Grand Army of the Republic." This was accordingly done, and George S. Merrill, Louis Wagner, James Tanner, Paul Brodie and Dr. Azel Ames, Jr., were appointed the Committee. With increased pensions in the air, the year 1883 showed an addition of three Departments and twenty-two delegates, and Dr. Ames "presented a very thorough and interesting report upon pensions." His report was very highly approved by the Committee to which it was referred and which recommended that its provisions be carried out, and the Standing Committee on Pensions reported that "his recommendations are so in accord with the convictions of the Committee on Pensions, that they find it unnecessary to elaborate points which they might otherwise express themselves upon."

In 1884, thirty-two Departments were present with 362 delegates. A large part of the address of the Commander-in-Chief and of the general proceedings was taken up with the consideration of the pension question. It appeared that the operations of the Standing Committee had been interfered with by some independent suggestions of Posts, and the following resolution was adopted—

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"That all petitions, resolutions and memorials by Posts, in regard to pension legislation, be required to be forwarded to National Head Quarters, through the Department Head Quarters, and that Posts be forbidden to make separate and independent applications to Congress, for legislation on the subject of pensions."

This, in connection with the resolution of 1882, gave the Committee in charge perfect control of the Grand Army of the Republic as far as pension matters are concerned.

Since 1884, the growth of the organization has been rapid and flattering to its leaders.

The curious student will note an instructive change in the tone of the resolutions that seem to slip out of the enthusiasm of the meetings; *e.g.*, in 1886, one appears—"And we *demand* the rigid enforcement of Section 1754, Revised Statutes, and an amendment thereto, so as to give preference to *all* honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who are now physically disabled, whether discharged for disability or not, provided that such soldiers or sailors be found competent." This stands out in striking contrast to the respectful request to "those in authority to bestow upon needy soldiers and sailors such positions of honor and profit as they may be competent to fill." But twenty years had intervened!

In this year, 1886, the Encampment, with businesslike directness, called for legislation that would provide pensions for the aged, the poor and the disabled—for everybody but the absolutely well and rich, and adopted the following—

"It is alike wise and for the best interests of the veterans to pursue the course marked out by previous National Encampments, and that the Grand Army shall continue to demand of Congress the prompt passage of the measures heretofore endorsed by this Encampment in favor of the aged, the poor, and needy veterans, and that until this is accomplished, the rich and well can afford to wait before demanding pensions for themselves."

The world is sufficiently familiar with the progress made by the pension business under Grand Army stimulation since 1886. The proceedings of the National Encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic are but dreary repetitions of proposals of increase and complication. No resolution has been permitted to see the light, except by permission of the Committee on Resolutions, a majority of which has always been made up of pension agents.

Some instruction may, however, be found in a few passages from the official report of the session of 1892. This was held in Washington, D. C., on September 21 and 22. The Commander-in-Chief

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was John Palmer. Forty-five Departments were present with 877 delegates. Commander-in-Chief Palmer said—

"The passage of the disability bill of June 27, 1890, was so munificent in its scope—requiring only the certificate of a physician and the examination by a pension board—no additional legislation was sought by the last National Encampment."

The report of the Adjutant General showed a membership of 407,781, an increase since the instalment of General Wagner in 1881, of 321,925! The Committee on Pensions reported that it had

"promptly notified the pension committees of Congress that it was ready at any time to confer with them on the subject of pensions. The Senate Committee replied that there would be no occasion for a conference this session. The House Committee, however, unanimously voted to give the Pension Committee of the G. A. R. a hearing whenever requested."

The Committee also reported that the Commissioner of Pensions

"explained the workings of his office to the Chairman, and it appears that all is being done that can reasonably be expected. . . . The Committee have attentively watched all proceedings bearing upon the subject of pensions, and have been ready to take action should occasion require."

A letter was received from the Woman's Relief Corps containing the following:—

"Near the shores of Lake Erie, at Madison, Ohio, we have a Home, which is indeed 'Sweet Home,' where the dear old mothers of the war may spend their last days in quiet rest. We have great reason to rejoice that the Army Nurse Pension Bill, so long contested, has finally passed both Houses of Congress, received the signature of President Harrison, and is now a law."

Comrade James Tanner, of New York, rising to a question of privilege, said—

"There was a criticism made yesterday upon the silence along the line. I never felt as quiet during a Grand Army procession in my life as I did yesterday, but there is an enthusiasm of absolute silence, and I fancy that tens and hundreds of thousands felt as I did, that yesterday was the apotheosis of the Grand Army of the Republic. We were seeing what the century had never seen before and what the century to come will not witness, the mighty moving veteran ranks, men who had borne on their shoulders the salvation of the Republic, the hopes of the liberty-loving people the world over, and the comprehension of that great fact silenced all voices; but, great God, how full the hearts were yesterday."

The report of the Surgeon-General gives the number of pensioners on the roll at the end of the fiscal year and recounts some of the appropriations. It continues—

"These appropriations all seem large, but they should be thought of in reference to the grand moving cause calling them into being—the preservation of the

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government from overthrow—and who can place too high an estimate on that achievement? It is absolutely beyond any money consideration. In this connection the fiscal resources of the nation may be mentioned."

Then follows a statement, showing the amount of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes and National bank-notes in circulation on August 1, 1892, to be $2,211,931,249. The report adds—

"This statement is from the Treasury report of August, 1892, and I accompany it with an extract from Census Bulletin, issued by the Superintendent of Census, the ablest, most painstaking and comprehensive statist of to-day. From the summary it will be seen that the assessed value of all property, excluding railroad property except in the States named, has increased from $16,902,993,543, in 1880, to $24,651,585,465 in 1890, an increase during the decade of $7,748,591,922, or 45.84 per cent. Should it be found upon the completion of the inquiry in relation to the true value of all property in the United States that the same relation exists in 1890 between the assessed valuation and true valuation, as existed in 1880, the absolute wealth of the United States, according to the eleventh census, may be estimated at $63,648,000,000 or more than $1000 *per capita*, as against $514 *per capita* in 1860, $780 *per capita* in 1870, and $870 *per capita* in 1880."

The Surgeon General continues patriotically—

"The fiscal resources of the government of the United States are greater than those of any other known ancient or modern government. They can be more readily converted into available assets than those of any known government, and with less disturbance and friction than in any government. The people of the United States are justly proud of their institutions and will always promptly respond favorably to any just demand on their resources to maintain the honor or integrity of the government. Those who charge bankruptcy of the treasury, or beggary of the people, are false prophets, and all their idle declamation will return to plague the inventors.

"'Facts are dainty chiels, that do na ding,
Nor wi'na be disputet.'

"All the gold and silver hidden in the bowels of the earth, and all its material wealth, is held subject to a prior claim by the government to pay its just debts, and none are more sacred than that due to the soldier."

This interesting document concludes with the inquiry

"if in all this broad land there can be found—

"'One man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land?'"

The report was naturally adopted and the encampment politely congratulated by the Committee to which it was referred "on the increased efficiency of this branch of our organization."

The next annual session of the order will be held at Indianapolis, on September 5, 1893. CHARLES MCK. LEOSER.

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COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE FARNHAM POST REVOLT.

THE subjoined report, adopted at a meeting of Noah L. Farnham Post on June 14, 1893, contains the text of the official documents in the controversy between the Post and the Grand Army of the Republic. It recites succinctly the whole history of that controversy, demonstrating that the Post's withdrawal from the Grand Army was dictated absolutely by its refusal to surrender, under unauthorized coercion, its right to free speech in condemnation of pension abuses, and that an irrelevant technicality has been sedulously employed to obscure the true issue before the public. The report is as follows:—

NEW YORK, June 14, 1893.

TO THE MEMBERS OF NOAH L. FARNHAM Independent Veterans, No. 1.

GENTLEMEN,—We the undersigned committee, to which was referred the question of the most advisable action to be taken by this organization regarding the annulment of the Charter of Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, Dept. of N. Y. G. A. R., respectfully submit the following report:—

On the 8th of March, 1893, Noah L. Farnham Post adopted a set of resolutions setting forth that in the opinion of the Post pensions should not be paid by the United States to persons whose disabilities were not incurred in the service of the country nor to persons in comfortable circumstances who do not need a pension.

The resolutions also stated that it was the opinion of the Post that persons who take pensions that they do not need or that they have not fairly earned are guilty of conduct calculated to injure old soldiers who take the higher ground.

It will be observed that there is nothing in these resolutions that can in any way militate against the interest of any old soldier who did his duty to his country during his period of service and your committee take the liberty of saying that one of the main objects in moving the resolutions was so to diminish the number of fraudulent and improper claimants upon the bounty of the tax-payers of the Nation as to enable Congress to make better provision for really deserving veterans.

It seemed evident that there was growing in the Country a feeling that the Grand Army of the Republic was rapidly falling under the control of a set of men who were using it as a tool to enable them, under the guise of patriots, to prey upon the Treasury. Whether that feeling was just or not, no one could doubt that it existed, and as the Post felt that a very large proportion of the members of the Grand Army of the Republic were not willing to have their fellow citizens think that they belonged to the Order merely for the purpose of getting pensions for themselves or earning commissions by getting pensions for others, it determined to make the assertion for itself that there was one Post in the organization concerning which the public suspicion was not well founded.

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And with the desire to have the Order placed in the right light before the Country, it urged all Posts in the Grand Army of the Republic to take the same action, so that the reproach might be taken away from it that it is a charity-seeking organization and a tool in the hands of the claim-agents. There was nothing very dreadful in this. Nothing that had been said or done could possibly injure any old soldier who had done his duty in the service, whether he was drawing a pension or not.

But the action of the Post, while it received the warmest commendation from a very large number of the most intelligent and respectable members of the Order and other old soldiers, seemed to cause the wildest terror and excitement among certain Posts and individuals, so that their conduct impressed the officers of our Post with the idea that our course was in some way inimical to the pecuniary interests of our ferocious critics. Their letters and remarks were not couched in terms such as are used by men arguing for a principle. They were the wild outcries and denunciations of hungry schemers fighting for bread and butter. The Post used its best efforts to explain the situation to them and to show them that its only object was to protect the Treasury from thievish plots and the fair fame of the Grand Army of the Republic from the reproaches that were heaped upon it, but its kindly efforts were not well received; the position remained unchanged until April 7th, when the following communication was received by your Commander:—

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, Department of New York,
Grand Army of the Republic,
ALBANY, N. Y., April 7th, 1893.

JOHN J. FINN, Commander "Noah L. Farnham" Post 458 G. A. R. Dept. of New York.

COMMANDER,—The accompanying resolutions purporting to have been adopted at a regular meeting of your Post held March 8th, 1893, having been brought to the attention of the Department Commander by the receipt of many protests from Posts in this and other Departments.

I am directed by the Commander to inform you, that you, and your Post are in contempt of the laws of the order.

1—By sending a series of resolutions direct to Posts without the approval of the Department Commander and National Headquarters, as required by action of the 18th National Encampment held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 25th, 1884.

2—By criticizing the legislative power of the country in passing laws which stand in the statutes of the United States and should be respected until repealed.

3—In condeming (*sic*) the sworn officers of the Goverment (*sic*) whose duty it is to execute these laws.

4—The Post Commander is in violation of his oath of office wherein, when installed, he promised to obey the "Lawful orders of his superior officers," and

5—In requesting all Posts throughout the country to pass similar resolutions.

The Department Commander directs me to notify you, that unless action is taken at the next regular meeting of Noah L. Farnham Post rescinding the resolutions passed by the Post March 8th, 1893, and the same publicity given to the act of rescinding as was given to the original resolutions, and as your Post holds their next regular meeting on Wednesday evening, April 12th, a definite answer regarding their action in this matter at such meeting, must reach these Headquarters on Friday, April 14th. If it does not, he will be compelled by the duty he owes to the order, to proceed against you and Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 G. A. R., Dept. of New York as provided in Chapter 5, Article I., Section 4, Rules and Regulations.

I am Sir, etc.,
P. J. O'CONNOR, Asst. Adjt. Genl.

It will be observed that this communication demanded the immediate and absolute rescinding of the resolutions of March 8th and the publication of the rescinding without reference to National Head Quarters, which proceeding would have been in violation of the very resolution of the National Encampment under which the Post was called to account. This fact, taken in connection with the various lapses in orthography and syntax in the letter of the Assistant Adjutant General, compelled the conclusion that his letter was written under the influence

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of excitement and that he did not mean exactly what he said. The following reply was accordingly returned :—

HEADQUARTERS NOAH L. FARNHAM POST, Dept. N. Y. G. A. R.
April 12th, 1893.

MR. P. J. O'CONNOR, Asst. Adjt. Genl. Dept. N. Y. G. A. R.

SIR,—I am in due receipt of your communication of the 7th inst. in which you say that you are directed by the Commander to inform me that I and my Post are in contempt of the by-laws of the Order and that if we do not rescind the resolutions passed by us on the 8th of March, the Commander will be compelled to proceed against us, etc.

In reply I have the honor to inform you that it is the opinion of this Post that if it is the desire of the Grand Army of the Republic to pay pensions to people who have not incurred their disabilities in the service of the country and to those who do not need them, then this Post does not desire to remain in the Grand Army of the Republic.

If no reply is received from you before next Wednesday morning, we shall conclude that our suspicions are correct and declare our connection with the Order ended, under the Provisions of Section 2, Article I., Chapter II., of the Rules and Regulations of the Grand Army of the Republic.

JOHN J. FINN, Comdr.

In reply a letter was received enclosing the following special order. It is proper to state that this letter from the Adjutant General was registered and stamped for immediate delivery :—

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic,
ALBANY, N. Y., April 13, 1893.

SPECIAL ORDER No. 15.

Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, having on the 8th day of March 1893 passed a series of resolutions criticising the pension laws now in the statues (*sic*) of the United States, and having caused the same to be promulgated throughout this department in violation of the following resolution adopted on July 25, 1884, by the National Encampment held at Minneapolis, Minnesota.

"*Resolved*, That all petitions, resolutions, and memorials by Posts in regard to pension legislation be required to be forwarded to National Headquarters through Department Headquarters, and that Posts be forbidden to make seperate (*sic*) and independent applications to Congress for legislation upon the subject of pensions."

Now therefore by virtue of the power vested in me as Department Commander of the Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, I hereby declare said Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic its officers and members to be in contempt of the laws of the order.

Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic is hereby suspended from all rights and privileges of the order pending the action of the Council of Administration at its next meeting, and due notice is hereby given to Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic, that the Council of Administration of this Department, will meet at these Headquarters on Thursday April 20th 1893 at 12 o'clock noon, at which time said Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic will be given an oppertunity (*sic*) to purge itself of the offence above noted and show cause why the Charter of said Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic should not be annulled.

Official, By order

P. J. O'CONNOR, Asst. Adjt. Genl. JOSEPH P. CLEARY, Department Commander.

To JOHN J. FINN, Commander Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458, Dept. of N. Y. G. A. R.

This Special Order No. 15, as will be noticed, confined the charges against Noah L. Farnham Post to passing resolutions criticising the pension laws and causing the same to be promulgated throughout the Department. But as it was supposed that the intention of the Department was to compel the Post to rescind its resolutions of March 8th as directed by the Assistant Adjutant General in his letter of April 7, no attention was paid to this order. A few days afterwards the following letter was received :—

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HEADQUARTERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NEW YORK, Grand Army of the Republic,
ALBANY, New York, April 22d, 1893.

SPECIAL ORDER, No. 18.

On the seventh day of April, 1893, the Department Commander called the attention of the Commander of Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, of the Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, to the fact that that Post, by transmitting to the President of the United States, to the Senators in Congress from the State of New York, to the Representatives in Congress from the city of New York, and to many Posts of the Grand Army a series of resolutions that it had adopted on the subject of Pensions to veterans of the war for the Union, had violated the law of the Grand Army of the Republic, as formulated in a Resolution of the National Encampment, held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on the 25th day of July, 1884. With a view to the enforcement of that law, the Department Commander informed the Commander of said Farnham Post, that said Post must, to the extent of its power, undo its action, and that, in the event of its refusal or neglect to recall its missives, proceedings against the Post would be taken under section 4, Article One, Chapter Five, of the Rules and Regulations.

In answer to that communication the Commander and the Adjutant of said Farnham Post, in an official letter to the Department Commander, dated April 12th, and mailed April 13th, 1893, used the following language: "In reply, I have the honor to inform you that it is the opinion of this Post that if it is the desire of the Grand Army of the Republic to pay pensions to people who have not incurred their disabilities in the service of the country, and to those who do not need them, then this Post does not desire to remain in the Grand Army of the Republic. If no reply is received from you before Wednesday morning we shall conclude that our suspicions are correct, and declare our connection with the Order ended under the provisions of Sec. 2, Article One, Chapter Two, of the Rules and Regulations of the Grand Army."

On receiving that letter, which is both a defiance and a threat, the Department Commander, on the 15th day of April 1893, issued his Special Order, No. 15, in which is set out the Resolution of the National Encampment of July 25th, 1884, to which reference was made in the letter of April 7th. That Resolution is in the words following: "Resolved, that all petitions, resolutions, and memorials by Posts in regard to Pensions legislation be required to be forwarded to National Headquarters through Department Headquarters, and that Posts be forbidden to make a separate and independent application to Congress for legislation upon the subject of Pensions."

Because of the contumacious character of the letter of said Post, dated April 12th, 1893, and of the persistency of said Post in its disregard of the law of the Order, the Department Commander declared, by his said order, that said Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, its officers and members, to be in contempt of the Laws of the Order. And it was further ordered by the Department Commander that said Post should be suspended from all its rights and privileges pending the action of the Council of Administration at its next meeting thereafter, and that said Post should show cause before the Department Commander and the Council of Administration, at the Headquarters of the Department, in the Capitol, in the City of Albany, at 12 o'clock, Noon, of the 20th day of April, 1893, why the charter of said Post should not be annulled; the meeting of said Council of Administration at the time and place last mentioned being the meeting next following the issuing of said Special Order, No. 15; and said Post was, by said Order, also required to appear at the time and place last aforesaid and purge itself of the offence whereof it was by said order accused.

On the 20th day of April, 1893, at the hour of Noon, at the Headquarters of the Department, in the Capitol in the city of Albany, the Council of Administration duly convened, the Department Commander being present, and in command, but no one appeared on behalf of said Post; and the resolutions that were on the 8th day of March, 1893, by said Post adopted, and by it transmitted to the President and to the certain Senators and Representatives in Congress and the several Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic being produced before said council together with the letter of said Post, dated April 12th, 1893, and the letter of the Department Commander, dated April 7th, 1893, and Special Order, No. 15, as well as divers letters from the Commander in Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Commanders of many Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, and all and singular the premises being considered; the Council of Administration advised the Department Commander that said Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, should be suspended from all its rights and privileges as a Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, and consented to such suspension; and Special Order, No. 15, was in all things approved, and the provision thereof suspending said Post was especially confirmed.

Wherefore, the Department Commander hereby suspends, and declares suspended until further orders, the said Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, from all its rights and privileges as a Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, and forbids the said Post and the officers and members thereof from acting as a Post in any matter whatever save as hereinafter specially permitted.

With a hope that suspension may be sufficient to recall said Post to its duty, the Council of Administration has advised the Department Commander not to proceed to cause the charter of said Post to be annulled until the next meeting of the Council of Administration, which will be held at the

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call of the Department Commander, and the proceedings for the annulment of the charter of said Post will stand over to the time last mentioned; and said Post is required at said time on being duly notified, to show cause, if any there be, why said charter should not be annulled; and said Post is at liberty then and there to purge itself of the offence of violating the law of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of setting that Law, and the lawful authority of the Department Commander, at defiance. The said Post is permitted to meet, and take such action as may be necessary and proper for it to prepare a defence to be presented at the next meeting of the Council of Administration, but not for any other purpose. If the said Post should desire to recall the missives it has sent on the subject of Pensions to the President, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress, and the several Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, leave for that purpose may be applied for to the Department Commander.

Official
P. J. O'Connor, Asst. Adjt. Genl.

By order
Joseph P. Cleary, Department Commander.

To John J. Finn, Commander Noah L. Farnham Post 458 Dept. of N. Y. G. A. R.

After this special order No. 18 had been received and before any reply to it was sent, a meeting of the Post was held on the 26th of April at which a committee from the Council of Administration of the Department appeared and urged the Post to appoint a committee to reconsider its action. After a long and careful debate, the Post ordered the following letter to be sent:—

Headquarters Noah L. Farnham Post, Dept. of New York, G. A. R.
April 26th, 1893.

Joseph P. Cleary, Esq., Commander Dept. N. Y. G. A. R.

Sir,—In accordance with the suggestion of your Committee, comrades Van Hoesen and Atkinson, I have the honor to enclose a copy of the resolutions passed by this Post on the 8th ulto.

At the time of the adoption of these resolutions I was not aware of the existence of the resolution which in your letter of the 13th inst., you state was adopted by the National Encampment on the twenty-fifth of July, 1884, but I assure you that this Post had no intention of concealing its action from you or from any one. I therefore take great pleasure in forwarding to you, in accordance with the terms of the Minneapolis resolution of 1884, a copy of our resolutions.

I beg to call your attention to the fact that this Post on the 9th of October, 1889, passed a set of resolutions practically identical with those passed on the 8th *ulto.* and that they were spread broadcast over the country at that time without receiving any attention from the Grand Army of the Republic as an organization.

Our resolutions of 1889, in common with those of March 8, *ulto.*, call attention to the fact that owing to the enormous number of names that have been fraudulently placed upon the pension roll, the country is beginning to look askance upon the whole system and that the Grand Army of the Republic is beginning to fall into disrepute owing to the opinion generally entertained, and growing stronger every day, that it is in danger of becoming a mere tool in the hands of the pension-agents. We thought that it was time for some one to get up and say that there were some members of the Grand Army of the Republic who were not in it for revenue only. There could hardly be a stronger demonstration that our views were correct than the very resolution of 1884, to which you refer us. What harm can the public expression of the views of old soldiers in regard to pensions do anybody but the claim-agents?

In addition to our desire to have the fraudulent claimants taken off the rolls, we also state that we are opposed to paying pensions to people who do not need them, who are otherwise in comfortable circumstances, and to very young widows who marry very old veterans for their pensions. We leave the details to be arranged by Congress.

In forwarding this copy of our resolutions to you, we urge you to send a copy to each Post in this Department, asking the following questions:

I. What is your opinion in regard to paying pensions to people whose disabilities were not incurred in the service of the country?

II. What is your opinion in regard to paying pensions to people in comfortable circumstances who do not need the pensions for their support?

III. What is your opinion in regard to paying pensions to women who have married veterans over sixty years of age?

An answer to these three questions would be of great service in assisting Congress and the people to form a correct idea of the attitude of the Grand Army of the Republic towards this interesting question.

I should also be very glad to have the opinion of the Department in the matter and I enclose a duplicate copy for transmittal to National Headquarters with the earnest request that a copy of our resolutions and of this letter may be sent to every Post in the Grand Army of the Republic. I am

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firmly convinced that the good men do not approve of paying pensions to frauds, to bondholders, or to giddy young widows who can take care of themselves.

I am, Sir, etc.,

JOHN J. FINN, Commander.

On the 4th of May, the following special order was received :—

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, Department of New York,
Grand Army of the Republic,
ALBANY, N. Y., May 3rd, 1893.

SPECIAL ORDER, No. 25.

Commander John J. Finn of Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic, is hereby given authority to call a meeting of said Post on the evening of Wednesday, May 10th 1893 for the purpose of selecting representatives to appear before the Department Council of Administration, at a meeting of the said Council to be convened at these Headquarters on Saturday May 13th 1893 at 2 P.M.

And Commander John J. Finn and Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458 will at the meeting of the Council before mentioned, be given an oppertunity (*sic*) to purge themselves of the charge of contempt of the laws of the order, as stated specifically in special order No. 15 issued from these Headquarters April 13th 1893, and show cause why the charter of the said Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458, Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic should not be annulled.

Official
P. J. O'CONNOR, Asst. Adjt. Genl.

By order
JOSEPH P. CLEARY, Department Commander.

To JOHN J. FINN, Commander of Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic.

On the 10th of May, a meeting of the Post took place at which the foregoing letter was read and carefully considered and a motion was made to send the following reply :

HEADQUARTERS NOAH L. FARNHAM POST, Dept. N. Y. G. A. R.
May 10th, 1893.

To Commander JOSEPH P. CLEARY, Dept. N. Y. G. A. R.

SIR,—I have received your communication enclosing Special Order, No. 25, C. S., in which you have given us permission to meet to-day for the purpose of appointing a committee to appear in Albany on the 13th inst. to purge this Post of contempt. This contempt consists in our having published a set of resolutions looking towards a revision of the pension laws. The publication was in violation of a resolution adopted nine years ago and which was apparently never published, inasmuch as seven-eighths of your Council of Administration had never heard of it until it was raked up for the purpose of trying to intimidate this Post into rescinding its resolutions.

We have given your Special Order, No. 25, most careful and respectful consideration and have concluded that no good end could be subserved by our appointing a committee to go to Albany.

As I have written you before, none of us had ever heard of the resolution of 1884 until you called our attention to it, and on receipt of your letter, we immediately sent you a copy of our resolutions.

It is our deliberate opinion that it will be for the interest of all deserving veterans and of the country at large to have the Grand Army of the Republic declare that pensions should not be paid to persons who have obtained them by fraudulent representations, and we think that no one should take a pension that he does not need, because that is, in a way, a fraud on the tax-payer and the recipient is imposing an unnecessary burden upon the Treasury. We believe, moreover, that widows' pensions should not be paid to widows who have married veterans obviously for the pensions. This covers our whole ground.

We want the veteran who honestly performed his service to have a comfortable living without too close scrutiny into the immediate cause of his disability, and in this we think the country is with us. We used somewhat strong language at the outset because we felt in danger of being disgraced and because we thought that was the best way to draw public attention to the question.

Now if you think that it is necessary to annul our charter because we hold those opinions and tell men so, we shall have to submit to your decision with regret, but our regret will be for you, not for ourselves.

Everybody in the United States will know that we were driven out of the Grand Army of the Republic because we held these opinions. The flimsy pretext that our charter is annulled on account of our ignorance of the existence of a rusty, old, long-forgotten, unpublished resolution will deceive nobody. I am convinced that the resolution was originally devised by a claim agent and that it is a claim agent who has now brought it to light.

You make no reply to our request to send our resolutions to each Post in the Department, ask-

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ing their opinion on the three points of paying pensions to frauds, to rich men and to able-bodied young widows. Are you going to comply with it, and if not, what would have been the fate of our resolutions if we had sent them to you in the first place?

I am, Sir, etc.,

JOHN J. FINN, Comdr.

After a long debate, the motion was lost and the Post determined to send a committee to Albany in accordance with the permission of the Department Commander, so on the 13th of May, your Committee appeared in Albany before the Department Council of Administration and explained that the object of the Post in adopting the resolutions of May 8th was to clear the Grand Army of the Republic from the suspicion of being a mere tool of the pension-agents, and by removing from the rolls the fraudulent claimants, the people in good circumstances who do not need pensions and the widows who ought not to have them, to make it easier for deserving old soldiers and *bona fide* widows to get a decent support. In reply, the Department Commander stated that neither he nor any one had any objection to make to the substance of our resolutions; that the only fault that had been committed by the Post was promulgating their action in the way they did. Your Committee having listened attentively to his remarks, stated that they knew of no objection to apologizing for the manner of the promulgation and offered the following:—

"On the 8th of March, 1893, Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, Dept. N. Y. G. A. R., adopted a set of resolutions which were promulgated in violation of a resolution of the National Encampment, dated July 25, 1884.

"At the time of the adoption of their resolutions, Noah L. Farnham Post were not aware of the existence of the resolution of 1884 and now as their Committee we apologize to the Department Commander for the unwitting violation of the Rules and Regulations of the Grand Army of the Republic committed by the Post in publishing their resolutions in the way they did."

The Council of Administration refused to accept this apology and wanted to make your Committee sign a statement drawn up by the Assistant Adjutant General and some other members of the Council, which they said was precisely the same thing as the one offered by the Committee. It seemed to the Committee that the statement drawn up by the Council would be interpreted to mean that the Post was apologizing for its resolutions and it declined to sign it, asking the Council why, if the two statements were the same, the one proposed by the Committee could not be accepted. The reply was 1st—That the statement of the Adjutant General was better worded, and 2d—That the Council "proposed to dictate" the apology. Upon this your Committee withdrew. The Adjutant General and another member of the Council came after them and overtook them at the door of the Capitol, asking them if they would not sign the statement dictated by the Council and if they had any other suggestions to make. Your Committee then said that the statement the Council had drawn up might be sent down for the consideration of the Post. The member who accompanied the Adjutant General said that course would be pursued and the Committee left them.

Nothing more was heard from the Department until the following order was received:—

HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF NEW YORK Grand Army of the Republic,
ALBANY, N. Y., May 13, 1893.

SPECIAL ORDER No. 20.

Noah L. Farnham Post No. 458, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, having on the 8th day of March 1893 at a regular meeting of that Post, passed certain resolutions, and caused the same to be sent to the President of the United States, members of Congress, and Posts of the order without the approval of the Department and National Commanders, as required by the rules of the Grand Army of the Republic, and their attention having been called to their disobedience of the rules, and failing to make proper answer to the communication of the Department Commander,

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they were cited to appear before the Council of Administration and given an oppertunity (*sic*) to purge themselves of contempt, failing to convince the Council that they had a proper sense of the wrong they had committed, the Council of Administration advised the Commander to annul the charter of the Post.

Now therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander of the Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic, I hereby declare the charter of said Noah L. Farnham Post 458 Department of New York Grand Army of the Republic, for their wilful and persistent disobedience of orders, to be and the same is annulled subject to the approval of the Commander in Chief.

Official — By order

P. J. O'CONNOR, Asst. Adjt. Genl. — JOSEPH P. CLEARY, Department Commander.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, G. A. R.,
MILWAUKEE, WIS., May 16th, 1893.

RESPECTFULLY RETURNED.

The action of Farnham Post in passing and parading these resolutions before the public and dissemenating (*sic*) them among the Posts in contravention of the rules of the order was plainly for a purpose hostile to the principles of the G. A. R.

This Post after deliberately violating the rules and regulations which are the fundemental (*sic*) law of the order, was brought before the Council of Administration, and given an oppertunity (*sic*) to purge itself of contempt, but refused to do so. It is therefore proper that it has been declared outside of the order, and prohibited from further participation in its councils. Its charter and property are to be returned to Department Headquarters (see Chapter 5, Article 1, Section 3, R. and R.).

A. G. WEISSERT, Commander in Chief.

JOHN J. FINN, Commander Post 458 G. A. R.

DEAR SIR—In compliance with the above order you are directed to turn over to A. B. Ostrander chief mustering officer of this Department, the property of the Department, including books of record and Post papers, which he will forward to the Assistant Quartermaster General as required by Chapter 5, Article 1, Section 3, R. and R.

Official — By order

P. J. O'CONNOR, Asst. Adjt. Genl. — JOSEPH P. CLEARY, Dept. Comr.

Upon examining the records of the Grand Army of the Republic, your Committee finds that with the exception of a resolution in 1880 commending a pension bill introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. J. Warren Keifer and a few others urging upon States the care of widows and children of soldiers killed or "disabled in the service," the providing of employment for veterans whose injuries prevented them from pursuing their former avocations, etc., nothing of any moment had been done by the organization in regard to pensions prior to 1881.

But in that year on the motion of Paul Brodie a Committee of thirteen composed of James Tanner and twelve others were appointed "to inquire into the subject and report their recommendations to the Commander-in-Chief." At the next meeting, James Tanner reported from the Committee that—

"their recommendations for a large increase of clerks in the Department having charge of Pension cases, resulted in an increase of 817 clerks in the Pension office, 167 in the Adjutant General's office, 166 in the Surgeon General's office, 12 in the Secretary of War's office, and 48 in the Treasury; a total increase of 1210 additional employees, and an added expense of $1,742,430."

Mr. Tanner's report continues—

"Your committee are clear in their opinion that the value to the veteran soldiers of their efforts can hardly be overestimated. It is the first time that the accredited representatives of our Order have come directly in contact with the law-making power. Common justice demands that we should officially state the obligations we feel under for the cordial reception we met with at the hands of the Pension Committees of both Houses. It was freely stated by them that they had long felt the desirability of dealing directly with the accredited representative of the soldier. If we did not obtain to the uttermost extent *all* that was asked for, we still respectfully submit that by far the *largest portion thereof* was obtained, and certainly that which is by a great majority of the most practical and immediate importance.

"So much still remains to be done, and there are so many evidences of the probable usefulness of such a body in the future, that we recommend the establishment of a standing committee of five, who shall, in a general sense, have charge of the matter of Pensions, and be authorized to speak in the name of the Grand Army of the Republic."

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The Encampment was so much impressed with the importance of what had been done and the probable usefulness of such a body in the future that they adopted the report and appointed a standing committee of five which has since had charge in a general sense of the matter of pensions and been authorized to speak in the name of the Grand Army of the Republic. The following persons were appointed on the Committee :—James Tanner, of New York, Paul Brodie, of the District of Columbia, Geo. S. Merrill, of Boston, Louis Wagner, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Azel Ames, Jr., of Massachusetts.

This was in 1882. In 1883, very little was done. The committee on the report of Surgeon General Azel Ames, Jr., found "cause for congratulation" that the matter of pensions had been placed in "such competent and experienced hands" and stated that they believed that his "justly put and lucid views" would "greatly advance the moral and legal science of this painful adjunct of war," but nothing further seems to have been done that year.

In 1884, the report of the Committee on the Address of the Commander-in-Chief recommended the following resolution :—

"That all petitions resolutions and memorials by Posts, in regard to pension legislation, be required to be forwarded to National Head Quarters, through the Department Head Quarters, and that Posts be forbidden to make separate and independent applications to Congress, for legislation on the subject of pensions."

The report being adopted, this resolution thereupon became the law of the Grand Army of the Republic and so remains at present.

In view of all these facts, your Committee recommend that this report be published as widely as possible, in order that our position may be thoroughly understood by the Grand Army of the Republic, and that a copy of it be sent to the National Encampment at Indianapolis accompanied by the following letter :

OFFICE OF NOAH L. FARNHAM INDEPENDENT VETERANS, No. 1.

TO THE NATIONAL ENCAMPMENT OF 1893, Grand Army of the Republic.

GENTLEMEN,—The charter of Noah L. Farnham Post, No. 458, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic having been annulled under the circumstances set forth in the statement herewith transmitted, we beg leave to represent respectfully to your body that, in the opinion of this organization, the leaving the entire control of pension matters in the hands of a committee largely composed of gentlemen engaged in the business of procuring pensions is calculated to injure the reputation of the Grand Army of the Republic.

We also feel compelled to say that the resolution of 1884, under which we were finally taken to task and punished, seems to us to be in violation of the spirit of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in that it abridges the freedom of speech and denies the right of people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

If it is the intention of your Encampment to leave this matter in its present condition, you force us, however regretfully, to say that, under the circumstances, we shall feel more comfortable outside of your Order.

But if you will take some measure that will prove to the people of the United States that the voice of calumny has been raised against you falsely and that mercenary men are not in control of your councils—that when you appear in public you have a right to the same willing cheers that greeted your marches thirty years ago, then we respectfully request that our charter be returned to us on the ground that all we have ever done, said, or intended has been to encourage honor and purity in public affairs and for the true interest and pure fame of honorable soldiers and the real Grand Army of the Republic.

I am, Gentlemen, etc.,

JOHN J. FINN, Chairman.

CHARLES McK. LEOSER,
SAM. G. ADAMS,
JOHN J. FINN,
MARTIN J. KEESE,
JOHN CASTLES,
} Committee.

To this comprehensive exposition of the Post's case, I need add nothing. The facts carry their own commentary. Of the nature of that commentary no two opinions can, I think, exist in unprejudiced minds.

JOHN J. FINN.

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WHAT ARE A CHRISTIAN PREACHER'S FUNCTIONS?

THE last time that I heard Henry Ward Beecher preach, I came forward after the service to greet him. As I awaited my turn, a lady, coming in the opposite direction, approached, and putting on her sweetest smile, and extending her hand, proffered him this somewhat remarkable compliment: "I have been very greatly entertained this morning, Mr. Beecher."

There are not a few laymen and some clergymen who practically agree with this lady in thinking that it is the function of the clergyman to "entertain" his congregation. They therefore measure the minister by his ability to "draw." They wish to know whether he "attracts" the young people. They praise him as "interesting." And he, on his part, considers himself as a kind of artist, and the sermon as a "work of art." His main work in life is that of making sermons. His ideal of a preacher is expressed by the familiar phrase, "pulpit orator." His ambition is first to fill the pews with an expectant congregation, and then to make them weep, or laugh, or shiver and creep with a sense of awe. A moment's reflection should suffice to demonstrate that this conception of the preacher's function as that of an orator is wholly impossible of realization. The great oration requires for its production three conditions:—a great occasion, a great audience, and a great orator. It is impossible to secure these conditions twice or even once a week.

The oratorical ambition is fatal to any preacher who entertains it. Under its influence he often becomes either grandiloquent or histrionic, and always loses that genuineness and simplicity which are the essential conditions of true pulpit success.

But if the church were only a lecture hall, the pulpit a platform, the congregation an audience, and the preacher a moral reformer, a school teacher, or even a purveyor of a pleasing and moral entertainment, he would not even then be the wholly useless body some of his critics would have us believe him to be. To gather the people together once a week to consider their ethical relations and the duties which grow out of them, or to occupy their minds with interesting

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and stimulating if not practically profitable problems in philosophy, or even to divert them from the ordinary routine and drudgery of life by a *quasi* oratorical display, would not be without its intellectual and perhaps moral usefulness. But this is not the function of the pulpit. Entertainment is better furnished by the theatre, and instruction is at least as well furnished by current literature; while purely ethical subjects get from the press a broader treatment than they can receive from any one preacher, because the many minds which contribute to the press present points of view which no one mind, however catholic, however well equipped, can possibly furnish.

The real function of the Christian ministry rests upon two assumptions,—one psychological, the other theological. The theological assumption is that God is in his world, his world of men as of material things, and that in this world of men he is working out a divine design which can be accomplished only in and through the co-operation of men; and that this design is both individual and social. It is individual in that it includes the perfection of each individual child in a manhood patterned upon that of Christ Jesus. It is social in that it includes the organization of all these individuals in a perfected state of society, called in the New Testament "The Kingdom of God," or the "Kingdom of Heaven." The psychological assumption is that man is a spiritual being, possesses a spiritual nature, is more than a machine, more than a higher type of animal, is by his nature and inheritance of kin to God. If this phrase "spiritual nature" seems somewhat vague, then it may be defined by saying that man possesses in a peculiar and preëminent degree, faith, hope and love,—these three:—faith or spiritual insight, by which he takes direct and immediate cognizance of the invisible, the spiritual, the immortal; hope, by which he perceives a future life superior to any yet attained, and is inspired to press forward to attain it, perceiving it as something possible of attainment; and love, by which he is bound spiritually both to the God whom faith has made known to him, and to his fellow-men, whom by the same spirit of faith he perceives to be, as he himself is, more than merely animal, and therefore worthy of a quality of affection which the mere animal cannot arouse in him. His function is therefore different from that of either the play-actor or the orator; it is not to amuse, entertain, or even entrance, although all the arts of the rhetorician and the elocutionist are at his disposal, provided they are used for the higher spiritual end. It is different from that of the school-teacher or the lecturer: to say of a man that

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he is an instructive preacher is higher praise than to say that he is an entertaining preacher, but it is not very high praise, certainly not the highest. It is different from that of the moral reformer, though he has much in common with the moral reformer. But his function transcends alike that of the orator, instructor, and reformer; and although it is unjust and unphilosophical to make comparisons between services, all of which are essential to the well-being of the community, it is certain, if the assumptions to which I have referred above be granted, that the service of the ministry is, in this respect, more important than that of either of the other three, that it is more fundamental.

Time was when the ministry fulfilled all four functions. The ministry once furnished the drama, in the miracle plays. The division between the church and the theatre has been a distinct gain to both. The ministry were once the only school-teachers. Both education and religion have gained by the separation of the school and the church. The ministry were once the sole social and political reformers. But the political rule of the ministry has never been of real advantage to either the profession or the community, and no attempt by the clergy to resume the functions attempted by the priesthood in the Middle Ages and by the Puritan preachers in early New England history will be of real and lasting advantage to either State or Church. The distinctive function of the ministry is to inspire spiritual life, that life out of which all other life—both individual and social—grows, and by which it is directed and controlled; —the life of faith which looks upon the things that are unseen and eternal; the life of hope which presses eagerly forward out of all the disappointments and all the successes of the past toward the mark for the prize of the calling up higher which continually comes from God, (for the aspiration of the soul is the voice of love speaking to the soul); and the life of love which makes all men one because one in God the Father of all. In brief, the minister is not appointed to "draw" a congregation, nor to entertain them when they are drawn, nor to teach a congregation, if by teaching is meant ministering to their intellectual life, nor to reform society, that is to redraft its laws, political or industrial, or instruct either its legislatures or the people in political and social science: he is neither an orator, a school-teacher, nor a reformer, but a life-giver. His mission is that of his Master, who said of himself, I have come that they might have life and might have it more abundantly.

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If this be true, it is evident that the first qualification of the successful preacher is the possession of that life which he is to impart to others. He cannot give what he does not possess. There is no place in the ministry for the rationalist, the pessimist, or the egoist. Men of these temperaments must either vanquish their temperaments or must look for employment elsewhere.

The preacher must be a man of faith, not a rationalist. By saying that he must be a man of faith, I do not mean that he must accept some dogmatic definition of faith, as that he must be a Protestant not a Roman Catholic, or a Calvinist not an Arminian, or an orthodox believer not a Unitarian. Men of faith are found in every denomination; and every creed is an attempt to formulate faith in philosophical forms,—all of them partial, because all men are partialists. By saying that he must not be a rationalist, I do not mean that he should be irrational, or should set his faith over against reason as a kind of natural foe to it, and should say with a kind of triumphant dogmatism, either I believe because it is absurd, or I believe in spite of its absurdity. By the rationalist I mean the man who believes or professes to believe that all our knowledge is derived from our senses through our reason or logical faculty; and by the mystic I mean the man who believes that there is a spiritual domain which we enter neither by the perceptions nor by reasonings founded on our perceptions. If any reader desires to follow certain philosophers in distinguishing between the two kinds of certitude,—that which comes through the senses and that which comes through the intuitions and the moral sentiments, if he desires to apply the word "knowledge" to designate only the things we see and "faith" to the things we do not see, I shall not dispute with him about a matter of words and phrases. I do not object to Tennyson's declaration,

> "We have but faith; we cannot know;
> For knowledge is of things we see."

It still remains true that no man is fitted to be a minister unless he is a man of faith, unless, that is, he has concerning things wholly unseen that kind of certitude which constitutes a basis for confident and aggressive action. Whatever he thinks about the Fall and Original Sin, actual sin must be an awful fact, unquestioned and dreaded. Whatever his theories of atonement, forgiveness of sin must be a realized experience in his own life. Whatever his theories of inspiration, the spiritual genius of the Bible must commend it to him

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as a Book unique in its history and in its moral power. However he may formulate his psychological explanations of Jesus Christ, he must see and feel in the Christ the divineness that has made Him the world's Master and the world's Life-giver. If he has none of these experiences,—if his beliefs in God, immortality, sin, forgiveness, inspiration, the Christ, are either mere traditional inheritances or mere scientific conclusions hypothetically worked out in the school-room, he has not the necessary equipment to be a prophet of the spiritual world to unspiritual men.

Nor are hope and love less essential. If he is a pessimist, if the world seems to him to be growing worse and worse, if he has not in himself a hope of a coming of the Kingdom of God, that is of the coming of the Kingdom of righteousness, truth, and peace, if God is either but a historic memory or a poet's dream, not a living and victorious Person, that element of hopefulness is wanting which is an essential element to the successful preaching of the Gospel of hope. Or if he be an egoist, if he believes, whether practically or theoretically, in the motive, "Take care of number one," if he enters the profession for the rewards it will confer upon him, for the social prestige it gives, or the intellectual leisure it affords, or the immunity from the struggle in which his less fortunate fellows are engaged, and lives the life of a recluse, luxuriating in his books and only coming forth from their companionship as professional duties require, that element of sympathy with men is lacking which equally with the spirit of faith and of hope makes up the life which it is the prophet's function to impart and with which therefore the prophet must be himself equipped.

I have dwelt the longer upon this element in the minister's character because it seems to me that the one essential and underlying condition of ministerial success is that he should be a religious person, having in his own soul that divine life which he is to impart to others. Without this, other equipments either emphasize the failure, or conceal it by giving a temporary and histrionic success. With it, the truest and best success is certain, only the extent of that success being dependent upon other conditions. The great preachers of the world have nothing in common but this; but this they all have possessed. This spirit of faith, this divine life and the power of giving expression to it, characterize alike the Old Testament Isaiah and the New Testament Paul, the Roman Catholic Savonarola and the Protestant Luther, the Calvinistic Edwards and the Arminian Bishop Simp-

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son, the conservative Spurgeon and the liberal Henry Ward Beecher, the cultured Phillips Brooks and the uncultivated Elder Knapp. Neither theology, rhetoric, nor character makes a successful minister without this qualification; and if he possesses this qualification, no imperfection of theology, rhetoric, or elocution, can prevent, though it may lessen, his spiritual success.

Assuming the minister to be possessed of these qualifications, what, for his largest success, are to be his relations, in our life and time to (1) his own people? (2) the intellectual movements of the age? (3) the problems of its social order?

1. The churches are subjected to public criticism, some serious, some superficial, because they are so organized that each minister has "his own people." It is certainly easy for him to pay too exclusive attention to them; but that each church should consist of a "stated congregation," is a distinct advantage to the cause of morals and religion. Experience has proved the truth of Christ's prophecy, that each shepherd would have his own flock who would hear his voice but would not hear the voice of a stranger. In this fact lies such justification as there is for denominationalism. The difference between denominations is less a matter of creeds than of temperaments. Speaking broadly, the Episcopal Church may be said to minister to culture, the Methodist and Baptist Churches to emotion, the Presbyterian Church to conservative intellect, the Congregational Church to progressive intellect. If there were only the Established Church in England, those who now attend the Independent Churches would be ill-fed or not fed at all; if there were no Roman Catholic Church in the United States there would be large masses of population where conscience and reverence would be wholly unministered to. It would involve a very serious disaster to the community if all the Churches were to be conservative or all were to become progressive, all liturgical or all non-liturgical, all emotional or all intellectual, all Calvinistic, appealing to men alone through awe, or all Arminian, appealing to men only through hopefulness and self-esteem. Take a Western Methodist into an Episcopal cathedral, and a cultivated Episcopalian into a revival meeting in a pioneer Methodist church, and one would come out chilled by the ecclesiastical proprieties of the liturgy, and the other shocked and disgusted by the emotional freedom of the prayer meeting. There is need in the world both for the Cathedral service and the Salvation Army hall. The denomination becomes sectarian, only when the denominationalist imagines that his method

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is the only method, his life the only life, and, by insisting that all men shall formulate their faith as he formulates his or shall express their aspirations and experiences as he expresses his, cuts himself off from the universal church. For he who seems to be excommunicating his brother worshipper is really only excommunicating himself.

As by a natural process of selection the particular denomination draws together those of like intellectual and spiritual sympathies, so by a similar process does each individual preacher. And as education develops more and more the individual life, this segregation of worshippers, according to their moods and temperaments, becomes more marked. Men are fascinated by Phillips Brooks who are repelled by Henry Ward Beecher; attracted by Henry Ward Beecher who do not care for Charles H. Spurgeon. Every reader of this article can out of his own experience verify and illustrate this general principle, recalling famous preachers whom he did not care to hear a second time, or remembering preachers who have impressed him profoundly but who have been powerless to impress some friend not less susceptible nor more critical than himself. Thus by a law of spiritual affinities, first the denomination, then the Church, and last but not least, the preacher, brings together those who are most quickened and strengthened by the methods of that denomination, the spirit of that Church, and the personality of that preacher. It is true that every wise preacher will cultivate in himself as catholic sympathies as possible; but he will also recognize the indubitable fact that the same man cannot do the work both of Phillips Brooks and Dwight L. Moody. He will ever be grateful for the law of spiritual affinity which brings to him the men and women whom he can most hope to affect. He will neither be exhilarated if occasionally a family comes from another church into his, as though this afforded any demonstration of his success, nor depressed if occasionally one leaves to seek some other ministry, as though this were a sign of failure. Nor will he think it his duty to leave the people who come to his church because they want to hear what he has to say, that he may go out into tents and theatres, and concert halls, or turn his church into a modification of either, in a despairing endeavor to get about him the people who do not want to hear what he has to say. If he cultivates in himself a catholic nature, and in his church a hospitable spirit, the people whom he can help will seek him for the help which he can give them, and his best ministry will be to them because they are his own people.

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2. The successful preacher must be in intellectual accord with the thought of his own age. As he must preach in the English language if he is preaching in England, and in the Zulu tongue if he is preaching in Zululand, so if he is preaching in the Nineteenth Century he must preach in the forms of thought which belong to the Nineteenth Century. Thought and life are so inextricably interwoven that they cannot practically be separated, any more than oxygen and hydrogen can be separated in the air we breathe. Yet they must be theoretically distinguished. The preacher is not a teacher of philosophy but a giver of life, and his philosophy is simply the instrument by means of which he imparts the life. He desires to inspire his congregation with the larger ideal and the more splendid hope which comes from a consciousness of the love of God; but he can do it only by impressing on them the truth that God is love. The clear perception of the truth gives staying power to the emotion which it enkindles; the emotion, not intermixed with such apprehension of truth, is too volatile, and evaporates as soon as it is exposed to the conditions of common life. It is therefore indispensable that the preacher should be a preacher of truth, not a mere exhorter to righteousness; and equally essential that he should present the truths of the spiritual life in such philosophic forms that the mind can retain them. The Roman Catholic Church under its present pontiff affords a striking illustration of the principle involved. It has not weakened in the least its claim to be the special almoner of God's grace and the special representative of his Person. It has not abated one jot or tittle of its ancient assumption to be the guide and the governor of mankind. But it is beginning to perceive that the forms of society in the Twentieth Century will be democratic not aristocratic. Its wiser spirits recognize the change as already come and prepare themselves to meet it. They seek therefore to control the world, less by princes than by popular and public movements, less by universities than by public schools. They seek the same ends, the control of the world by the church; they maintain the same principle, the infallibility and authority of the spiritual organism; but they wisely adopt new methods fitted to the new forms of political and social life. The Protestant teacher does not seek the same end. He does not wish that the church should control the world, nor aver the infallibility or authority of the spiritual organism. He seeks rather that a religious spirit, unorganic and unincarnate, should rule the world. But in securing this end he must follow the wise example of his Roman

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Catholic brethren. Perceiving that the forms of thought, no less than the forms of social order, have changed, he must adapt his philosophy to the thought of the age, and holding fast to the same life of reverence, faith, hope, love, inculcate it by means of intellectual forms which his age will understand and can accept. To explain what changes in theology this demands would be to write a treatise; in a paragraph I can only afford an illustration.

Formerly science was catastrophic; it is now evolutionary. I believe the change began, at least it was emphasized, in geology, which half a century or more ago taught that the world was brought into its present shape by forces now operative and through phenomena akin to those of comparatively recent history. The nebular hypothesis carried back this evolutionary theory of world-building to very remote ages. Philology undertook to account for the difference of tongues by an analogous natural and long continued process. Historical science was re-created on a new basis upon the hypothesis that epochs created men rather than men epochs. Anthropology traced all variations of race upon the earth back to a single pair, denying the theory of special creations. Zoology and embryology carried the process further back, claiming to explain the differentiation of the different animal species, and then the difference between men and the other animals, and finally the difference between the animal and the vegetable, as due, in a similar manner to gradual growth not to sudden and divine interventions. The scientific thought of the present age is as truly constructed on this evolutionary theory of change by growth, as the astronomical thought is on the Copernican theory. It is useless for the ministry to go on preaching a catastrophic theology to an age which has adopted an evolutionary philosophy; and it is a great deal worse than useless for the ministry to identify religion with a catastrophic philosophy, and so incite the thoughtful men and women of the age to relegate religion with that philosophy to the lumber room where old and cast-off furniture is kept. The minister who means to commend religion—that is the life of faith and hope and love—to his age, must have the same old message that God is in his world of nature and of men, redeeming, transforming, educating his children and bringing them into his own likeness; but the successful minister will clothe this message in the philosophic thought as well as in the language of his time.

3. This essay has already exceeded the limits which I had prescribed to myself, and the last division of the subject, important as

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it is, must be passed over with a few words. It is certain, that Jesus Christ was not, as he has been sometimes called, "the first socialist." The "socialist," to whatever particular school he may belong, regards it as his first duty to change existing forms of society in order to rectify existing wrongs. Jesus Christ, on the contrary, had very little to say about the forms of society existing in his day—and social and industrial abuses were very much worse at that time than now. He devoted the strength of his ministry to making men righteous. That came first in his philosophy; righteous society he left to follow as a practical result. But while he was in his methods individualistic he proposed to himself and to his disciples ends that were socialistic. He came preaching the kingdom of God; and a kingdom is a social organism. These two principles may help to indicate the answer to the question, What are the relations of the preacher to the problems of social order? He is not to be a teacher of political economy or sociology; a preacher of single tax, or revenue reform, or protective tariff, or naturalization of industries, or the perpetuation and extension of individualism. Still less is he to undertake to fashion laws and lead in political reform. There may be cases where the preacher must drop his preaching and take up other work; and other cases where he must add other work as a citizen to his duties as a preacher. But it is not the function of the preacher, as such, to re-organize society. His work lies deeper; it is to reorganize men. But in this work he is constantly to recognize that the reorganization of society is the ultimate end of Christianity; and that to teach men how they can live peacefully and happily together is one of the duties of the Christian minister.

Christianity is organic, not merely individual. Communities and nations have moral character and perform moral acts. He who lifts his voice in warning or denunciation of individual misdeeds may not be silent merely because a great number of individuals combine to perpetuate them. Robbing an Indian of his lands is none the better because it is done by an Act of Congress. An industrial system which shuts up hundreds of thousands of men and women in dark and pestilential tenements is none the less immoral that a single employer, enmeshed in the general social order of our time, is often as powerless to remedy the wrong as was a single slaveholder before the Civil War to give his slaves that which was just and equal. Social sins do not cease to be sins because they are social; nor may the prophet excuse himself from condemning a system which dwarfs and

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stunts the intellectual and moral nature of not a few of his fellow men, which condemns them to a life of drudgery, provides for them no true home, and offers them no society outside of the home except the saloon. But he may perfectly legitimately leave to others to incorporate in bills the legislative and the social remedies, while he devotes himself to the more fundamental and the really more serious task, of persuading men that there is disease and of inspiring them with a purpose to find a remedy.

To sum up the contents of this paper in a paragraph: The preacher is a messenger; his sermon is a message; he receives it from God; partly through the Bible, that is through messengers of the olden time, partly through the Church, that is through the spiritual consciousness of the devout souls of all time, partly by direct communion with his God. His message is one of faith, hope, and love—faith a spiritual consciousness, hope a glad expectancy, love an unselfish service. Its value is measured, not by its literary or oratorical excellence, but by its life-giving qualities. This messenger's first care—often it will be his exclusive care—must be to serve his own parishioners, because they are those whom natural selection has drawn to him and whom he can best hope effectually to serve. His message of life is in spirit the same which has been given by the prophets of all the ages, but its form must be adapted to the thought-forms of his own time. And while his immediate object must be the inspiration of the individual, his ultimate object must be so to give that inspiration that a new social order, an order of love not of ordered and regulated selfishness, shall rule in the social, the industrial, and the political world. I add, to any young man who may read these pages, and who is deliberating the question of his profession, that never was "the cloth" or "the pulpit" less venerated than now, never was so scant respect paid to the mere vestment and standing place; but never did an age or a nation so greatly need the prophet, as this age and this American people, and never was age or nation more ready to hear and heed the prophet, if he comes to it inspired by the consciousness of a divine message.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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THE TEACHING OF CIVIC DUTY.

BEFORE we inquire how Civic Duty is to be taught, let us attempt to determine what civic duty means. The French are fortunate in possessing a word, *civisme*, for which there is no precise English equivalent, since "patriotism," as we shall see presently, has received a slightly different sense. *Civisme* is taken to include all the qualities which make up the good citizen—the love of country and of liberty, respect for right and justice, attachment to the family and the community. This is perhaps not too wide an extension to give to Civic Duty, at least in a free country, where the love of liberty is no less essential than the respect for constituted order. Or we may describe it as one aspect or side—the domestic side—of the love of country, a virtue generally thought of as displaying itself in services rendered to, and sacrifices made for, one's fatherland in struggles against external enemies, but which ought to be extended to cover the devotion to all that can subserve her inner welfare. To desire that the State we belong to shall be not only strong against other Powers, but also well and wisely governed, and therefore peaceful and contented, and to fit ourselves for rendering to her such service as our capacities permit, to be always ready to render this service, even to our own hurt and loss—this is a form of patriotism less romantic and striking than the expulsion of a tyrant, or such a self-chosen death as that of Publius Decius or Arnold von Winkelried; but it springs from the same feelings, and it goes as truly in its degree to build up the fabric of national greatness.

This home side of patriotism, this sober and quiet sense of what a man owes to the community into which he is born, and which he helps to govern, has been found specially hard to maintain in modern times and in large countries. It suffers from three difficulties. One is the size of our modern States. In small city republics, like those of Greece and Rome, or of the Italian Middle Ages, every citizen felt that he counted for something, and that the fortunes of the community were his own. When a riot occurred half the citizens might swarm out into the streets. When a battle was fought the slaughter

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of a thousand men might mean ruin or the loss of independence. The individual associated himself heartily with all that befell the State, and could perceive the results of his own personal effort. Now, in a vast population like ours, the individual feels swallowed up and obliterated, so that his own action seems too small a unit in the sum of national action to be worth regarding. It is like the difference between giving a vote in a representative assembly, where you are one of 670, or perhaps of only 356 persons, and giving a vote at a general election, where you are one of six millions.

Another difficulty springs from the peaceful life which Englishmen and Americans are fortunately now able to lead. There is nothing romantic about the methods in which we are now called upon to show our devotion to the State. The citizen of Sparta, or the peasant of Schwytz, who went out to repel the invader, went under circumstances which touched his imagination and raised his emotion to the highest point. In the days when the safety of England was threatened, the achievements of Drake at sea, the chivalric gallantry of Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen struck a chord which vibrated in every English heart. To us, with exceptions too few to be worth regarding, such a stimulus is seldom applied. What can be less romantic, and to the outward eye and ordinary apprehension less inspiring, than the methods of our elections—meetings of committees and selections of candidates, platform harangues, and huntings up of careless voters, and marking crosses on bits of papers in hideous polling booths, with sawdust-sprinkled floors? Even the civic strife in Parliaments and County Councils, exciting as it often is, wants the elements which still dazzle imagination from the conflicts of fleets and armies of the past.

The third difficulty springs from the extent to which party spirit tends to overlay, if not to supersede, national spirit in those self-governing countries whose politics are worked by parties. To the ordinary citizen, participation in the government of his country appears in the form of giving a vote. His vote must be given for a party candidate; his efforts must be directed to carrying his party ticket. Each party necessarily identifies its programme and its leaders with the welfare of the State; each seeks to represent its opponents as enemies, even if it may charitably admit them to be rather ignorant than malevolent, still, nevertheless, enemies of the highest interests of the State. As a rule the men who care most about public affairs are the most active and earnest party men; and

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thus the idea of devotion to the whole community, and to a national ideal, higher and more enduring than any which party can present, is apt to be obscured and forgotten. We all admit in words that party and its organization are only means by which to secure good government, but, as usually happens, the means so much absorb our energies that the end is apt to slip altogether from our view.

These obstacles to the cultivation of civic duty are all obvious, so obvious that I should hesitate to repeat them were it not the case that some truths, just because they have passed into truisms, have ceased to be felt as truths. They are obstacles which will not disappear as time goes on, and party organization becomes more perfect. All we can do is to exhort ourselves and one another to feel the growing greatness of the interests committed to our charge, and to remember that civic virtue is not the less virtue because she appears to-day in sober gray, and no longer in the gorgeous trappings of military heroism. Even at Trafalgar there was many a powder-monkey running to and fro between decks who saw nothing and knew little of the progress of the fight, but whose soul had been stirred by the signal of the morning.

You may ask in what the habits of civic duty consist which the schoolmaster may seek to form in his pupils and by what methods he is to form them. The habits are, I think, these three—To strive to know what is best for one's country as a whole. To place one's country's interest, when one knows it, above party feeling, or class feeling, or any other sectional passion or motive. To be willing to take trouble, personal and even tedious trouble, for the well-governing of every public community one belongs to, be it a township or parish, a ward or a city, or the nation as a whole. And the methods of forming these habits are two, methods which of course cannot in practice be distinguished but must go hand in hand—the giving of knowledge regarding the institutions of the country—knowledge sufficient to enable the young citizen to comprehend their working—and the inspiring a love for the nation, an appreciation of all that makes its true greatness, a desire to join in serving it.

In speaking of the methods I come upon practical ground, and feel some diffidence in making suggestions to those who may, as practical teachers, be expected to know better than I can myself what it is possible to effect under the pressure of many competing subjects and with children, most of whom leave school before fourteen. The outline of such a course of instruction as I am contem-

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plating would be something like the following. It is, and must be, an outline which includes only the elements of the subject, but you will not fail to remember that there is all the difference in the world between being elementary and being superficial.

The teacher must not attempt to give many details, or to enter upon difficult and disputed questions. But it is essential that whatever is given should be thoroughly understood, and so taken into the learner's mind as to become thenceforth a part of it. That abstract ideas and technical expressions ought to be avoided goes without saying. This, however, must not prevent us from trying to make the pupil understand the meaning of such terms as the nation, the State, and the law. You need not trouble yourselves to find unimpeachable logical definitions of these terms; that is a task which still employs the learned. What is wanted is that he should grasp the idea, first, of a community—a community inhabiting a country, united by various ties, organized for mutual protection, mutual help, and the attainment of certain common ends; next, of the law as that which regulates and keeps order in this community; next of public officers, great and small, as those whom the law sets over us, and whose business it is to make us obey the law, while they also obey it themselves. With these conceptions in his mind, the pupil in England may be led to give substance and actuality to them by being referred to his own country, and applying to the nation of to-day what he has doubtless already learnt from his manual of British history. The names of Queen and Parliament are already familiar to him; it may therefore be explained to him what is the place and what the functions of the Sovereign, and what the powers of Parliament are, how it makes laws, of what parts it is composed, how it is chosen. Thus he comes to elections, and sees how the people, through the representatives whom they choose, are ultimately the law-making power. By this time he will have been led to ask what the Government does for us, and will be referred to the army, the navy, the post office, the police, the maintenance of law courts, the relief of the poor, the public schools. As the police and the schools, though established by law, are managed by local authorities, he will pass into the field of local government, and will hear about school boards, town or county councils, magistrates and justices, and persons who administer the poor law.

Not that the whole of this complex machinery need be explained, still less that the pupil should be required to carry it in his memory,

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though he certainly ought to have some short and simple book so stating the facts as that he may be able readily to ascertain any particular point. What is really of consequence is that he should understand in a general way the nature and spirit of the system, the way in which the people exercise their power through their representatives and their officers, what the duty of the officer is, why we ought to obey the law, because it is our law, expressing the will of the majority, and the officers, because they are the ministers of the law, appointed to carry it out. Here again history may come in, and the learner may be reminded of times when it was necessary for the people to contend against their rulers for the right of making the law, and to resist the officer, because he was the minister of tyranny; as he may also be told of countries where to-day free government does not exist, and where in consequence the officer has neither the confidence of the citizen nor a due sense of responsibility to the community. It is fortunate for us that in all this field, and in every similar exposition of what is meant by Liberty with its rights, which also involve duties, and of Order with its duties, which also involve rights, the teacher is on ground so familiar and so uncontroversial that no suspicion of partisanship ought to attach to his explanations.

The same remark applies to the United States, where the work of the instructor, if more difficult in one way, because he has to explain the complications of a federal system, and the working of a rigid constitution, is in another way easier, because the fundamental principles of the government are set forth explicitly in public documents, whose authoritative language he may employ. The American scheme of government is intricate, no doubt, but it is also symmetrical, and offers comparatively few of those contrasts between the form and the reality of things with which our British monarchical arrangements are replete, and which it is not easy to make young people comprehend.

It may be remarked upon these suggestions that the topics I have outlined for treatment are in no small degree abstract, and therefore above the comprehension of boys and girls of thirteen. I have stated them for the sake of brevity in a somewhat abstract form. But they all admit of, and of course they ought all to receive, concrete treatment. The pupil should be made to begin from the policeman and the soldier whom he sees, from the workhouse and the school inspector, from the election of the town councillor and the member of the Legislature which, if he be an American boy, he will see pretty often, and about which, if he be an English boy, he is likely to have

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heard some talk. The old maxim of Horace about eyes and ears ought never to be forgotten by the teacher either of geography or of history, or of elementary politics. An ounce of personal observation is worth a pound of facts gathered from books; but the observation profits little till the teacher has laid hold of it and made it the basis of his instruction. I must therefore qualify the warning against details by adding that wherever a detail in the system of government gives some foothold of actual personal knowledge to the pupil, that detail must be used by the teacher and made the starting-point from which general facts are to be illustrated and explained. Above all, let the teacher never be satisfied with the pupil's giving him back his own words. Every good teacher will admit this if it be put to him; but in topics which our books treat in an abstract fashion, the danger of resting in mere phrases is doubly great, even to the good teacher.

That current history—*i.e.*, the political events of the day, and newspapers their record, a record perhaps more vivacious than exact, but still the best we have, must be used to make the facts and principles of government real to the pupil, all this is too obvious to need enforcing. But I cannot leave untouched the question how far the teaching of elementary politics ought to be treated historically; that is to say, be made a part of the teaching of the history of the country itself.

Now history is of all the subjects which schools attempt to handle perhaps the worst taught. The difficulty does not lie in the suspicion of political partiality which may be supposed to attach to the teacher, for a sensible and careful man can easily avoid any such suspicion. Even if he has to explain to American children the causes which brought about the Civil War, or to English children the struggle over the Reform Bill, a little common sense and fairness will enable him to do justice to both sides. It is only where religion comes in, as in the times of Elizabeth or James II., that he has need to walk warily. No; the difficulties of teaching history lie deeper. To know a multitude of facts and names and dates is not to know history, and the schoolmaster may have all that the manual contains at his fingers' ends and yet be quite unable to give the pupils any real comprehension of the nature and significance of the events it mentions, unable to help them to realize the differences between the present and the past. A man may teach geometry tolerably well if he has a clear head, and knows thoroughly so much as is contained in the first six books of Euclid or some corresponding text-book. So

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one who understands the general principles of grammar may give sufficient elementary instruction in a language though he has not gone far in it himself, and has no large mastery of words or idioms. Many a governess who could not write a piece of Latin or French prose is competent to bring children up to her own point of knowledge. The same remark applies to some branches of natural science. But to teach history a man must be a historian—that is to say, must understand the methods of history, must have the power of realizing the dead past as a living present, must, in fact, have a touch of imagination as well as a vastly larger amount of positive knowledge than he will attempt to pile upon the memory of his class.

Considering how unsatisfactory is the provision now made for the education, in history and the subjects cognate thereto, of the elementary teachers themselves in England and in many parts of the United States, one cannot expect these attainments to abound among them, and cannot therefore look for much successful teaching of history. Their want of success is not their fault, but due partly to the conditions under which they enter their profession, partly to the inherent difficulties of the subject. Hence, while heartily desiring to see history better taught, and to see it used to illustrate elementary politics, I look upon the latter subject as really an easier one than the former, and sufficiently distinct to deserve an independent place in the curriculum. This place it does now find in Switzerland, and to a less extent in France, Germany, and Italy, as well as in many States of the American Union. We may be told that in England no room has been left for it in the codes and schemes of study which now regulate our elementary schools. If so, so much the worse for those schemes, for the subject is not less essential than most of those which the schemes now include, and in the hands of an intelligent teacher, is not more difficult for boys of thirteen or fourteen. I have known instances where children even of nine or ten have so profited by the talk of their elders as to be intelligently interested in the political columns of a newspaper. As respects those who leave school before thirteen, we may point to the constantly expanding evening and continuation schools, places for which the subject is eminently suited. But it is not only in elementary schools that the need for introducing the subject exists. Boys leave our so-called "secondary" schools at sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen, leave even some of the greatest and most costly schools in the country, having received no regular instruction in the principles and working of the British Con-

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stitution, much less in their own system of local government wherein many of them as local magnates are soon called upon to take part. It is otherwise in Switzerland, otherwise in the United States, where I fancy no boy passes through a high school without having been taught something about the Constitution of his country and perhaps of his State also.

I must not forget to add that occasions will often present themselves in which lessons of direct practical value in economic and social matters may be given to advanced classes. Where poor law administration is mentioned, the principles that ought to guide it may be explained; when school boards and municipal authorities are described, the reasons why the State deals with education and the functions which municipalities may discharge for the general good of the community may be touched, stating of course the views on both sides where the points are debatable. Thus much may be done to set the young citizen to think in a reasonable way about our present problems in the sphere of government.

So far I have spoken of the instruction. I come now to the other and not less important side of the matter—the means of stimulating interest in public affairs and inspiring the sense of civic duty. Here we may depend, to some extent, upon the natural play of imagination and emotion so soon as the necessary basis of knowledge has been supplied. No rightly constituted mind can help feeling some pride in the constitution of his country and in her greatness, some interest in the vast issues which its representative bodies and executive authorities have to deal with. The more that knowledge can be combined with whatever tends to touch imagination and emotion, the better will the knowledge be remembered and the more powerfully will it work in forming the character. Hence the value of two kinds of reading: historical passages relating to great or striking persons or events, and pieces of poetry. The difficulties that attach to the systematic teaching of history do not attach to the reading of historical matter, whereof the more a boy reads the better. If well-written historical narratives, fresh, simple, dramatic, were put into the hands of boys from ten years onwards, given to them not as task books but as books to read for their own pleasure, not only would a good deal of historical knowledge be acquired, but a taste would often be formed which would last on into manhood. Though the boy, however, ought to be tempted to read for his own pleasure much more than could be read in class, a skilful teacher will make great use of class

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reading, and will, by his explanations and familiar talk over the book, be able to stimulate the intelligence of the pupil, setting him to think about what he is reading—the habit without which reading profits little to any of us.

Next, as to poetry, which may do as much to form a patriotic temper as even the records of great deeds in history. For a country with two such histories as England and Scotland have, and for a country with a poetry even more glorious than its history, a people whose long succession of great poets no other people in the ancient or modern world can rival, it is strange that so comparatively little of our best poetry should run in a historical and patriotic channel. No poet has yet given to Britain her sixth book of the Æneid. There are some plays of Shakespeare, such as "King John" and "King Henry V.," though these are rather above the interest of boys of thirteen; there are several sonnets of Milton and his contemporaries, not forgetting Andrew Marvell on the death of Charles I., a few stray bits out of Dryden, an ode of Addison's and another of Gray's; there are passages in Cowper and Scott, a very few noble lyrics of Thomas Campbell, several sonnets of Wordsworth, and some splendid ballads of Tennyson, foremost among them the tremendous poem of "The Revenge," together with some beautiful meditative pieces, such as "Of Old sat Freedom on the Heights," and "Love thou thy Land."

This list contains many gems, but it is, after all, compared with the volume of English poetry, a short list, which even the inclusion of the work of less eminent singers, such as Wolfe's "Burial of Sir John Moore," Macaulay's "Armada," and a few of Dibdin's songs, would not greatly swell. Short as it is, however, we do not make half the use of it that we ought. Good poetry is the most pervading stimulus which literature can apply to the mind and character of the young: to carry it in memory is a perennial joy, to love it is to have received the best gift education can bestow. So as to poetry and patriotism. The imaginative mind transfigures history into patriotism. When it reads of a great event it dilates with the sense of what that event has wrought. When it sees the spot where some great deed was done it is roused to emulate the spirit of those who did it, and feels like Browning in the famous lines on the evening view of Cape Trafalgar and Gibraltar: "Here and here did England help me, how can I help England? say!"

The mention of Trafalgar reminds me of the opinion expressed by

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an eminent American man of letters that England has begun to forget her heroes and grow cold in her recollection of past exploits. Forty years ago, he says, men were stirred by the name of Nelson, now, a reference to him meets with no response. Is this so? Are we really ceasing to be patriotic? Has the vaster size of the population made each man feel his share less? or has long-continued peace destroyed the interest in warlike prowess? or have the leading minds begun to be merely cosmopolitan? or are we too fully occupied with social changes, too sorely distracted with the strife of labor and capital, to reverence the old ideals? So much at any rate may be said, that in England the knowledge of and interest in the national history is less than in most of the free countries. It is less than in the United States. The Republic has to be sure no large store of patriotic poetry, even less (of indisputable merit) than England has produced since 1776, only some few pieces of Whittier—the ballad of "Barbara Frietchie" perhaps the best,—Bryant and Longfellow. Walt Whitman has taken no hold of the people, and Lowell's Muse, thoughtful and dignified and morally impressive as she is, seldom soars into the region of pure poetry. But the interest of the American people in the events of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, and even in eminent statesmen, such as Jefferson, Clay and Webster, is far more generally diffused than any similar feeling in England, where both intelligent patriotism and historical curiosity are almost confined to the small well-educated class. Among the Nonconformists there still lingers a warm though (as it would seem) steadily cooling feeling for the Puritan heroes and divines of the Commonwealth. But with this exception, the middle class, scarcely less than the agricultural peasantry and the city artisan, care for none of these things.

This is less true of the smaller nationalities within the British Isles. In Ireland the misfortunes of the country have endeared to the people names like those of Sarsfield, Wolfe Tone, Emmet, and O'Connell. Scotland has been fortunate in having two national heroes who belong to such remote times as to be fit subjects for legend, while in the seventeenth century she produced, in the Covenanters, another set of striking figures, now, it is to be feared, beginning to be forgotten. Scotland was, moreover, favored a century ago, with two great literary artists who, the one by his songs and the other by his prose romances no less than by his poetry, made her history, the history of a small, a poor, and for a long time a rude

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nation, glow with a light that will last for ages to come. Thus, even to-day, Wallace and Bruce, Bothwell Bridge and Culloden, are more vividly present even to the present of Scotland than Harold (son of Godwin) or Hampden and Blake, than Agincourt or Fontenoy, or perhaps even Salamanca and the Nile, are to the average Englishman. Scenery no doubt counts for something. In a small country with striking natural features, historical events become more closely associated with the visual impressions of the ordinary citizen. There is no place in England playing the same part in English history as Stirling Castle and its neighborhood play in Scotch history.

Here I am reminded of Switzerland, a country whose people know their own history better and love it more intensely than probably any other people in the world know or love theirs. The majestic mountain masses and narrow gorges of the older cantons of Switzerland have not only been one of the main causes in enabling a very small and once a very obscure people to conquer independence from powerful feudal lords and to maintain it ever since, except for one brief interval, in the face of the great military monarchies which surround it, but have also fostered the patriotic spirit of the natives by reminding them daily of the conflicts whereby their freedom was achieved. Like the Psalmist they can say, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, whence cometh my aid." Just as in little Greece and Latium, one moves about with a constant sense of tiny republics on every fortified hill top and of armies traversing every valley, just as in little Scotland one passes on the railway from Blair Athol to Berwick-on-Tweed eleven famous battlefields, so in little Switzerland the sense of history follows and environs one at almost every step, and pervades the minds of a race specially familiar with their own annals, specially zealous in commemorating by national songs, by the celebration of anniversaries, by the statues of departed heroes, by the preservation of ancient buildings, by historical and antiquarian museums in the cantonal capitals, the deeds of valiant forefathers. These things, coupled with universal military service and the practice of self-government in local and cantonal as well as in Federal affairs, have associated patriotism with the daily exercise of civic functions in a manner unapproached elsewhere. Not otherwise an imaginative or enthusiastic people, the Swiss have not only become penetrated and pervaded by patriotism, but have learnt to carry its spirit into the working of their institutions. There are some faults in the working of those institutions, but party spirit is among the least of them, and

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I doubt whether a system so highly democratic could prosper save in a land where the ordinary citizen has attained so strong a sense of the responsibilities which freedom lays upon him.

Some years ago, in a lonely mountain valley in the Canton of Glarus, I was conversing with a peasant landowner about the Landesgemeinde (popular primary assembly) which regulates the affairs of the canton. After he had given me some details, I asked him whether it was not the fact that all citizens had the right of attending and voting in this assembly. "It is not so much their Right," he replied, "as their Duty."

This is the spirit by which free governments live. One would like to see more of it here in London, where Parliamentary and County Council elections often bring little more than half of the voters to the polls. One would like to see more of it in the United States, where in many places a large proportion of the voters take no trouble to inform themselves as to the merits of the candidates or the political issues submitted to them, but vote blindly at the bidding of their party organizations.

This little anecdote of my Swiss friend illustrates what I mean in speaking of patriotism as the basis of the sense of civic duty. If people learn to love their country, if their vision is raised beyond the petty circle of their personal and family interests to appreciate the true width and splendor of national life, as a thing which not only embraces all of us who are now living here and grouped in a great body seeking common ends, but reaches back into the immemorial past and forward into the mysterious future, it elevates the conception of citizenship, it fills the sheath of empty words with a keen edged sword, it helps men to rise above mere party views and to feel their exercise of voting power to be a solemn trust.

> "Love thou thy land with love far brought
> From out the storied Past and used
> Within the Present, but transfused
> Through future time by power of thought."

Into these feelings even the poorest citizen may now enter. Our British institutions have been widened to admit him: the practice of using the powers entrusted to him ought to form in him not only knowledge but the sense of duty itself. So, at any rate, we have all hoped, so the more sanguine have predicted. And as this feeling grows under the influence of free institutions, it becomes itself a fur-

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ther means of developing new and possibly better institutions, such as the needs of the time may demand.

Let me take an illustration from a question which has been much discussed of late, but still remains in what may be called a fluid condition. The masses of the British people in these isles, and probably to a large extent also the masses of the people in our colonies, are still imperfectly familiar with the idea of a great English-speaking race over the world, and of all which the existence of that race imports. Till we have created more of an imperial spirit—by which I do not mean a spirit of vain glory or aggression or defiance—far from it—but a spirit of pride and joy in the extension of our language, our literature, our laws, our commerce over the vast spaces of the earth and the furthest islands of the sea, with a sense of the splendid opportunities and solemn responsibilities which that extension carries with it—till we and our colonies have more of such an imperial spirit, hardly shall we be able to create the institutions that will ere long be needed if all these scattered segments of the British people are to be held together in one enduring fabric. But if sentiment ripens quickly, and we find ourselves able to create those institutions, they will themselves develop and foster and strengthen the imperial spirit whereof I have spoken, and make it, as we trust, since it will rest even more upon moral than upon material bonds, a guarantee as well of peace as of freedom among the English-speaking races of the world.

From these dreams of the future, I return to say a concluding word on the main theme of this address—the political aspects of the teacher's function. The teacher has charge of the future citizen at the time when he is most impressionable; the only time, it may happen, in his life when he is free enough from the pressing cares of daily employment, to have leisure for thought about the functions to which the Constitution calls him, or to conceive a wish to understand the true bearing of those functions. On many, probably on most pupils, the teacher's efforts will make no great impression. But those most susceptible to the influence which stimulating teaching may exert, will be those likely in future to stir and guide their fellows, and on their guidance the beliefs and tendencies of their class will mainly depend. The dictum, Property has its duties as well as its rights, once received with surprise and even disgust, has become a commonplace. We now need to realize in the fulness of its application that other maxim, which Mazzini was never tired of enforcing, that Liberty also has its duties as well as its rights, and will

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begin to be in danger if it forgets them. The tie of duty to the State, though it cannot be as close as that which binds us to family and friends, ought to be just as clearly recognized to be a tie of absolute force.

It is common to talk of ignorance as the chief peril of democracies. That it is a peril no one denies, and we are all, I hope, agreed that it has become more than ever the duty of the State to insist not only on a more penetrating and stimulative instruction, but upon the inclusion of the elements of constitutional knowledge among the subjects to be taught in the higher standards of our schools.

Democracy has, however, another foe not less pernicious. This is indolence. Indifference to public affairs shows itself not merely in a neglect to study them and fit one's self to give a judicious vote, but in the apathy which does not care to give a vote when the time arrives. It is a serious evil already in some countries, serious in London, very serious in Italy, serious enough in the United States, not indeed at Presidential, but at city and other local elections, for some reformer to have proposed to punish with a fine the citizen who neglects to vote, as in some old Greek city the law proclaimed penalties against the citizen who in a sedition stood aloof, taking neither one side nor the other. For, unhappily, it is the respectable, well-meaning, easy-going citizen, as well as the merely ignorant citizen, who is apt to be listless. Those who have their private ends to serve, their axes to grind and logs to roll, are not indolent. Private interest spurs them on; and if the so-called "good citizen," who has no desire or aim except that good government which benefits him no more than every one else, does not bestir himself, the public funds may become the plunder, and the public interests the sport of unscrupulous adventurers.

Of such evils which have befallen some great communities, there are happily no present signs among ourselves; though it is much to be wished that here in Britain we could secure both at Municipal and Parliamentary elections a much heavier vote than is usually cast. More common in all classes is that other kind of indolence which bestows so little time and thought upon current events and political questions, that it does not try to master their real significance, to extend its knowledge, and to base its opinion upon solid grounds. We need, all of us, in all classes and ranks of society, the rich and educated perhaps even more than others, because they are looked up to for guidance by their poorer or less educated neighbors, to be re-

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minded that as Democracy—into which we have plunged so suddenly that some hardly yet realize what Democracy means—is, of all forms of government, that which needs the largest measure of intelligence and public spirit, so of all democracies ours is that which has been content to surround itself with the fewest checks and safeguards. The venerable Throne remains, and serves to conceal the greatness of the transformation that these twenty-five years have worked. But which among the institutions of the country could withstand any general demand proceeding from the masses of the people, or even delay the accomplishment of any purpose on which they were ardently set, seeing that they possess in the popular House a weapon whose vote, given however hastily, can effect the most revolutionary change?

I do not say this to alarm any timid mind, believing that our British masses are not set upon such changes, and are still disposed to listen to the voices of those whom they respect, to whatever class such persons may belong. The mutual good will of classes is still among the most hopeful features in our political condition. But it is well to remember that it is upon the wisdom, good sense, and self-restraint of the masses of the people that this vast and splendid edifice of British power and prosperity rests, and to feel that everything we can do to bring political knowledge and judgment within their reach is now more than ever called for. Let me express this trust in the majestic words addressed to the head of the State by the poet whose loss we mourn, than whom England had no more truly patriotic son:

> Take withal
> Thy poet's blessing, and his trust that Heaven
> Will blow the tempest in the distance back
> From thine and ours; for some are scared who mark,
> Or wisely or unwisely, signs of storm,
> Waverings of every vane with every wind,
>
> * * * * *
>
> And that which knows, but careful for itself,
> And that which knows not, ruling that which knows
> To its own harm: the goal of this great world
> Lies beyond sight; yet—if our slowly grown
> And crown'd Republic's crowning common-sense,
> That saved her many times, not fail—their fears
> Are morning shadows huger than the shapes
> That cast them, not those gloomier which forego
> The darkness of that battle in the West,
> Where all of high and holy dies away.

JAMES BRYCE.

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HOW THE FOURTH OF JULY SHOULD BE CELEBRATED.

I HAVE been invited to present some hints as to the proper observance of our great national holiday, the Fourth of July, and the false education implied by warlike celebrations in a nation whose corner-stone is peace and whose very freedom is a standing protest against old-world militarism.

The topic carries me back in thought to days of childhood, when, in my native city of New York, the endless crackling of torpedoes, the explosion of fire-crackers and the booming of cannon, made the day one of joyous confusion and fatigue, culminating in a distant view of the city fireworks sent up from Castle Garden. It then seemed to be a day wholly devoted to boyish pleasure and mischief, sure to be followed by reports of hairbreadth escapes and injuries more or less serious, sometimes even fatal. The day was one of terror to parents, who, while deeming it unwise to interdict to their sons the enjoyment of gunpowder, dreaded to see them maimed or disfigured for life by some unlooked-for accident. It was not uncommon then, nor is it now, to read of some sudden death, some irretrievable blindness or other injury caused by the explosion of a toy-cannon or the mis-adventure of some fireworks on "the Fourth," as the day has come to be called.

These were tragical events truly, but they appear less real to me in remembrance than do the laughing faces of my young brothers who were allowed to arrange a small table for their greater convenience on the pavement of ancient Bond Street, a very quiet by-way in those days. From this spot went forth a perpetual popping and fizzing, varied by the occasional thud of a double-headed fire-cracker. Shouts of merriment followed those explosions. The girls within-doors enjoyed the fracas from the open windows, and in the evening our good elders brought forth a store of Roman candles, blue lights, and rockets. I remember a year, early in the thirties, in which good Gideon Lee, a democratic Mayor of New York, issued an edict prohibitive of all home fireworks. Just as we had settled ourselves in the

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determination to regard him thenceforth as our natural enemy, the old gentleman's heart failed him, and, living next door to us, he called to say that he would make a few exceptions to the rule for the day, and that we should count among these.

Removing to Boston some ten years later, I found the night of the third of July rendered almost sleepless by the shrill gamut of gunpowder discharges. The ringing of bells and the booming of cannon destroyed the last chance of an early morning nap, and in self-defence most people left their beds and went forth to see what could be seen. This was sometimes a mock-procession of the Antiques and Horribles, so called in parody of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, so well known in and about Boston. Or, one might join the throng on the Common, where a brass band performed popular airs, American and Irish-American. I do indeed recall certain notable performances connected with the usual observance of the National Festival. I was a dweller in Boston when Charles Sumner, then chiefly known as a rising lawyer and incipient philanthropist, was appointed to deliver the Fourth of July oration, and chose for his theme the true grandeur of nations. This grandeur he found entirely in the conquests of Peace as opposed to the popular worship of military renown. His audience, composed in part of men in soldier's garb, were but little in sympathy with his views, and I remember the performance as having called forth more irritation than approbation.

These prophetic glimpses of good which seem far from the practical questions of the time do visit earnest souls in this way, like some ray of light from an undiscovered star. The same train of thought, at about the same time, took shape in Mr. Longfellow's fine poem on the Arsenal in Springfield. It may be remembered that the poet was Mr. Sumner's most intimate friend. While the two men held the same views regarding the great questions of the time, Mr. Longfellow's *bonhomie* rendered him very inapt to give offence, while Sumner seemed destined to arouse violent opposition in those from whom he differed.

I remember another Fourth of July at which Edward Everett's measured rhetoric and silver voice held the attention of a numerous assemblage. Mr. Everett was certainly master of the art of graceful oratory, and was always heard with appreciation, even by those who felt little satisfaction in his public career.

One of Ralph Waldo Emerson's finest poems was written for the

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celebration of the Fourth in his own town of Concord. The two opening lines of this dwell always in my memory:

"Oh! tenderly the haughty Day
Fills his blue urn with fire."

But, beautiful as they are, the solemn lesson of the poem exceeds them in interest.

"United States! the Ages plead,
Present and Past in under-song:
Go, put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue.

Be just at home, then write your scroll
Of honor o'er the sea,
And bid the broad Atlantic roll
A ferry of the Free."

Here is a thought picture which we may love to dwell upon. Emerson, the descendant of the Puritans, himself a transfigured Puritan, reading these stanzas of his, whose fire is tempered by the weight of thought, in that old town of Concord where, in his own phrase:

"——the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world."

A fiercer fight was then before us, whose issue is simply prefigured in the words: "*Be just at home.*" Surely, we might take this saying for a national motto, its reminder still needed, though the slave is freed from the whip and fetter. Of the day on which our Independence was declared John Adams said:

"It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be celebrated with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore."

These words show how comprehensive was the view which the old statesman took of a Nation's holiday. He desired that all classes and all ages should participate in the joy expressed. The time which has elapsed since his memorable utterance has brought nothing to diminish this joy. It has however brought into being a new society for which "pomp and parade, bells, guns, and bonfires" are less available for good than pleasures of a more elevated character. We now desire a celebration which shall speak less to the bodily senses and more to the inner sense. This is because the historic development of the race goes ever forward. John Adams would have had both sober

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and wild rejoicing over the birth of a new state, representing a new order of things. We stand face to face with the question: How shall we maintain our deliverance from old-world trammels? This freedom which was declared in 1776, what are its conditions, what its true uses?

History is full of paradoxes whose meaning does not lie upon the surface of what we see. Many of these recall the riddle of Samson: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." Even so, the things that make for peace often come out of contests full of violence and bloodshed, while the elements of anarchy ripen best in the submission enforced by autocratic despotism, the ominous quiet which is sure to be broken by some terrific social cataclysm. In the first instance, which alone concerns our theme, we must remember that the bloodshed came, not of the peaceable principles of eternal justice, but of the effort on the part of tyrants to gainsay and oppose these. It follows from this that in commemorating the events which have had most to do with the liberation of mankind from the yoke of despotism and superstition, we must keep in view these underlying truths which in themselves involve no violence, but the vindication of which may involve great sacrifice of devoted lives.

The fact that our heroes fought for freedom against almost hopeless odds should be brought to mind, and their names should be hallowed in perpetual remembrance. But, if we would crown their conquest, we must give more attention to the good for which they died than to the mere circumstance of their death. The ordinary procedure of mankind is quite the opposite of this. They are proud of the military success, careless of the civic and ethical gain. Even the Christian church accentuates too much the death of its Founder, is too little concerned with the truth for which he really gave his life. A Lent of prayer and fasting, with dramatic repetition of the betrayal and crucifixion of the Blessed One, may merely bring with it suggestions of devotion and gratitude. But far more important would be a Lent of study of the deep meaning of his words and works. It makes one sick at heart to think of the formal rehearsal of great events by those who have no understanding of their true significance, and can therefore claim but a small part in their real benefit.

The parallelisms too of history are very instructive. In the confusions and difficulties of our own time it is useful for us to learn that men in other times have had similar problems to solve, and have

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found their solutions. It is helpful for us to know that our pure and blameless Washington was, in his day, the subject of malignant slander and mischievous cabal. Our own best public men are liable to the grossest misinterpretation of their utterances and of their measures. Unworthy demagogues to-day will present very dangerous evils in a light attractive to the multitude. This has always been so. No man marches to victory over a bed of roses. The roses crown his perseverance, but the thorns lacerate his bleeding feet. But, with these sad recollections, we must keep in sight the immortal hope sung by the poets, reasoned out by the philosophers, and acted out by earth's saints and heroes, the hope which is justified by the great progress of the ages, the elevation of the natural man into the dignity of the spiritual man.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who saw one of the great Italian festivals in which the poet Dante was especially commemorated, saw also the pressing need of wise counsel and brave action throughout the struggling country, and asks what will become of the new Italy if her young men shall "stand still strewing violets all the time?" We may ask too what will become of our new Republic if the hours of its highest festival continue to be occupied with fustian oratory, gunpowder enthusiasm, and the exercise of every poor and mean trade, the sale of toys, bad food, and worse liquor?

Now, I would by no means abridge the childish pleasure of the day, if I could do so. We must allow children the explosion of animal spirits, and they will delight, as some grown-up people will, in much that is irrational. But the day itself is too important to be made one of mere noise and parade. It should be made highly valuable for impressing upon the minds of the young the history of their national liberty, and its cause. Besides our own young people, we have with us the youth of many nations, whose parents have come to our shores, drawn by various hopes of gain and benefit. These children will form an important part of our future body politic, in whose government to-day, their parents are too easily able to participate.

The question will be, how to make the Fourth of July a true festival, a national solemnity, without forgetting the claims of the young to be amused, as well as to be instructed. In the first place, I should think that the day might fitly be made one of reunion, by different clubs and associations of culture and philanthropy. Those whose thoughts go deep enough to understand the true conditions of

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human freedom, might meet and compare their studies and experiences. Very fitly, after such a meeting, each individual of them might seek a group, to whose members he might present a popular statement of the philosophy of freedom. Mothers, who should be the true guardians of peace, might well come together to study all that promotes its maintenance. In gatherings of older children, prize essays might be presented and discussed. I can imagine civic banquets, of a serious and stately character, in which men and women might sit together and pledge each other, in the exhilaration of friendship and good feeling.

I would have processions, but I would have them less military in character, and more pacific in suggestion. Congregations of the various religious confessions might walk in order, headed by their ministers, who should all exchange the right hand of fellowship with each other. I would have no monster concerts, which cannot be fully enjoyed, but divers assemblages, at which music of the highest order should be presented. Letters of greeting should be exchanged between cities and states, and the device of the day should be, "In the Name of the Republic." The history of the war which culminated in our national independence should be amply illustrated by graphic lectures, and possibly by living pictures. Mr. John Fiske has an admirable talent for bringing the past and its heroes as vividly before us as if he himself had seen them but the day before. If it were possible to multiply his valued personality, I would have many sketches given in various places, of the brave struggle of our forefathers and of those who were foremost in it.

"Going out of town to avoid the Fourth," has been a phrase so common in my time that it ceases to awaken attention, and is taken as a matter of course. I cannot indeed wonder that people of refined tastes and sensitive nerves should seek to free themselves from the noise and crowd of the usual observance. The question is whether, with a wiser administration, the same people might not be led to gather, rather than to disperse for the celebration.

How would the following programme answer?

On the evening of the third of July, quiet gatherings in halls or churches, in which the true love of country should be explained and illustrated. How many a name, half or wholly forgotten, would then be recalled from oblivion, and with it the labor and sacrifice of some noble life, some example precious for the community!

The morning of the Fourth to be ushered in by martial music,

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and a military display sufficient to recall the services of the brave men who gave our fathers liberty. At ten o'clock orations in various public buildings, the ablest speakers of the Commonwealth doing their best to impart the lesson of the day. At one a Spartan feast, wholesome and simple. No liquor to be served thereat, and none to be sold during the day. From twelve to half past four in the afternoon, I would have exercises for the children of the public schools, examination of classes in American history, prizes given for essays on historical and patriotic subjects. Later, a gathering in public gardens, and a tea, with fruit and flowers, served for the children of the city. In the evening, the singing of national anthems, *tableaux vivants* and fireworks, and in some form, a pastoral benediction.

To these exercises I would add the signing of a pledge of good citizenship. We take much pains, and not unwisely, to persuade men and women to sign a pledge of total abstinence from alcoholic liquors. But why should we not go further than this, and lead them to pledge themselves to some useful service in the community? This pledge might be either general or particular in its terms, but the act of signing it should imply a disinterested public service of some sort, a participation in some work useful for the health, beauty, or order of the city, without other reward than the badge or button which would represent the agreement entered into. I would have the history of other Republics brought forward on this day, and especially, the heroic struggles of our own time. Among these, I would certainly accord a place to the story of the great-hearted men to whom Italy owes her freedom. And I would if I could compel the attendance of our men and women of fashion upon lectures in which the true inwardness of European society should be exposed, and the danger shown of the follies and luxurious pomp which they delight in imitating, and which, however æsthetically adorned and disguised, are for us a lead in the pathway of moral and intellectual deterioration.

I would have the great political offences of the century fitly shown, the crimes of Louis Napoleon, the rapacious wars of Germany, France and England, the wicked persecution of the Jews. Now that we are nearing the close of our Nineteenth Century, it becomes most important for us that its historic record should be truly rehearsed, its great saints and sinners characterized, its wonderful discoveries and inventions explained.

The very meagre programme suggested here for our great day may appear to many Utopian and impossible. I shall be glad if it

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can serve to pave the way for kindred suggestions, to which individual minds may give a broader and more varied scope. Let us unite our efforts in behalf of a suitable and serious honoring of the day in such wise that every heart, old and young, shall have therein its especial joy, and every mind its especial lesson.

I have in mind at this moment the "Woman's Week" with which the series of Congresses in Chicago happily opened. Its greatest interest lay in the showing which it made of the development of a new force in the body politic, the organized action of women in view of the vital interests of the human race. The programme of the meetings showed a praiseworthy desire to give attention to every point which a Congress of Women should be especially held to consider, and the published record of these meetings will no doubt show that while enthusiasm and good sentiment were at a premium among the women-speakers, wise counsel also was not wanting. I mention this here because my own recollection of the occasion shows me that in the awakened public spirit of the women of the country, directed by various centres of good intelligence and intention, we have a new resource for the instruction and elevation of the masses.

I had at one time a plan of my own, of setting apart one day in the year as a Mother's Day. This festival was to be held in the interest of a world's peace, and for quite a number of years it was so observed by groups of women in various parts of the country, while in England and even in far-off Smyrna friends met together, with song, prayer, and earnest discourse to emphasize the leading thought, which was that women, as the mothers of the race, knowing fully the cost of human life, should unite their efforts throughout the world to restrain the horrors of war, and to persuade men to keep the sacred bond of peace. It now occurs to me that we should make our Fourth of July a Mother's, as well as a Father's day. In the public programme of every town throughout our vast Commonwealth, women should have some word to say and some part to play. What we have already seen of their culture and ability is enough to assure us that their participation in such proceedings would intensify their good features and discourage their objectionable ones. And as in the forms of oratory with which we are familiar, much is made of what the world owes to America, we might suggest that our women speakers might especially bring forward the antithesis of this question, in another, *viz.*, What America owes to the world.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

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THE WORLD'S FAIR BALANCE-SHEET.

Is the World's Fair likely to prove a financial success? This important question can be answered only by careful consideration of the origin of the enterprise and of the conditions surrounding its complete development.

In 1890 the feeling was widespread that the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America should be commemorated by a World's Exposition. New York, Washington, Chicago and St. Louis each strove to secure it, but the prize (or millstone, according to the point of view) was finally awarded by Congress to Chicago, coupled with the condition that ten million dollars should be pledged by the city to the satisfaction of the President. The bill as originally framed provided for a pledge of five millions, and more than this amount was subscribed in Chicago before application was made to Congress; but in the bill as passed the amount was raised to ten millions.

Efforts were made to raise the increased amount by popular subscription, but results showed that this resource had been measurably exhausted, the total subscriptions having amounted to about six millions, and it was decided to ask the city of Chicago to aid, by issuing its bonds to the amount of five millions. The Constitution of the State of Illinois limits the indebtedness of any municipal corporation to five per cent of the assessed valuation of the property within its limits, and as this limit had been previously reached by the city of Chicago, to secure the proposed issue of bonds it was necessary to adopt an amendment to the Constitution. A special session of the legislature was called and formulated the proposed amendment, which was submitted to a vote of the people at the next general election, and almost unanimously ratified. The issue of bonds thus authorized was made by the city authorities; the bonds bearing five per cent interest were sold at par and the proceeds turned over to the Exposition Company. This sum, with the amount previously raised by popular subscription, fulfilled the conditions of the Act of Congress, and the President thereupon issued his invitation to the nations to

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participate in this Exposition, which should illustrate the progress to the present time in the arts, industries and social life of all the principal peoples.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, it may be well to note the ultimate results in cash of the popular subscription to the stock of the Exposition Company. The subscription of six million dollars was made by a trifle over thirty thousand subscribers. Of this number, more than one-third failed to pay their subscriptions, but the persons thus failing were almost without exception subscribers for one or two ten-dollar shares each, so that, while the number of people thus in default was large, the loss was comparatively small. The amount of cash received in payment for stock to May 1, 1893, was $5,586,000, and moderate amounts are still being collected, so that it is now estimated by the Bureau of Collections that fully ninety-four per cent of the entire amount subscribed will be paid in cash before the close of the Exposition.

It will be observed that the shortage even on May 1st was less than eight per cent of the total amount subscribed, and even this amount is daily diminished. This point has been referred to somewhat in detail, from the fact that endless predictions were made in the newspapers, especially in New York, that not more than one-third or one-fourth of the subscriptions would ever be paid; and it is believed that, even to the present time, a larger per cent of cash has been received from these subscriptions than has ever before been realized in case of the pledge of large sums of money in moments of widespread enthusiasm by a general, popular movement.

When the ten million dollars were thus secured, it was supposed they would suffice to erect buildings and carry forward the work to the opening of the Fair; but the responses to the invitation of the President were so general, and the applications for space from exhibitors from all parts of the world were so numerous, that it soon became evident an enlargement of nearly all the great buildings would be necessary, to the extent, in many cases, of doubling their proposed capacity. To this time, also, the work had been looked upon throughout the country largely as a Chicago enterprise, but the action of foreign nations and the feeling thus engendered combined to show the importance of making the work national and not local; of making it a fit exponent of the resources and enlightenment of the most prosperous and wealthy nation the world has yet seen. In the journals and magazines of the disappointed competitors of Chicago had constantly

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appeared statements and innuendoes to the effect that Chicago was a rude and uncultivated frontier-town; that, while sundry large fortunes had been accumulated by the handling and manipulation of grain, beef and hog crops, and by the phenomenal advance in the prices of real estate, it was still a city of cowboys and of the newly-rich, with all that the term implies, from whose management it was vain to expect an international Exposition, which should result in elevating the general standard of intelligence, education or culture among its visitors. These gibes doubtless had their effect upon the directors in determining them to spare no expense to make the Fair the most artistic product of the century.

To this end, therefore, the directors decided greatly to enlarge the original plans; to make the buildings thoroughly beautiful and an example of the highest architectural excellence, rather than simply spacious, and to locate these buildings in grounds which would illustrate the greatest possible perfection in the landscape gardener's art. It was felt and believed that, when Chicago had so liberally responded to the world's demand, the Government would freely second the effort to make the work in every way worthy of the nation by providing a liberal proportion of whatever additional means were needed, in view of the greatly enlarged scope of the enterprise. This idea was encouraged by the National Commission, a body appointed from all the states and territories, under the Act of Congress, which had urged and insisted upon the enlargement of the plans to meet the wants of anxious exhibitors. Congress, however, failed to appropriate the five million dollars applied for, reducing the amount one half, and coupling with it conditions which reduced it to something less than two million dollars.

The enlarged plans, however, had been adopted and in great measure carried into effect; and the directors were called upon to provide an additional six or seven millions of dollars. As a means of raising a portion of this sum, they authorized an issue of $5,000,000 of debenture bonds, $4,500,000 of which have since been taken at par by the banks and people of Chicago. Even this amount of money was insufficient, so that the Exposition was opened on May 1 with a considerable amount of money owing to contractors, and with the construction not completed; to complete the work upon the buildings and grounds and to pay the amount due on contracts requiring a farther sum of nearly two million dollars.

The resources, therefore, to the opening of the Fair may be sum-

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marized in round numbers as follows: $5,600,000 from subscriptions, $5,000,000 from the sale of city bonds, $2,000,000 from the Government, $4,500,000 from the sale of debenture bonds, and $2,000,000 unprovided for, and to be paid from Exposition earnings. In all, the expenditures reached the very large sum of $19,100,000, which may be roughly divided into $16,100,000 for construction and $3,000,000 for all other purposes. By the provision of the earlier legislation in Congress, the Government was to pay the expenses of the jurors to make the awards, which expenses were estimated at $570,000. When the appropriation of five million souvenir half-dollars was made, it was coupled with the condition that the Exposition Company should pay the jury expenses, and as security that this would be done, the Secretary of the Treasury has retained the supposed expense—$570,000—from the appropriation made.

The appropriation was coupled, also, with the condition that the gates of the Exposition be closed on Sunday. The question of the Sunday opening of the Fair has given rise to much heated discussion, but it is believed that the opening will much increase the revenue of the Exposition Company, and that, too, without injurious effects upon the public morals. Many of those who were at first strongly opposed to Sunday opening, since visiting the city and the Fair have decided that it will not arouse the wrath of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to have his subjects, rather than spend their time in hotels, boarding-houses or less reputable places of resort, devote a portion of the Sabbath day to viewing, amid beautiful and artistic surroundings, the highest achievements in every department of human endeavor. As a partial compromise with those who are opposed to Sunday opening, it is now under consideration by the directors to open the two music-halls in the Exposition grounds for free services on the Sabbath day. Half-a-dozen services could thus be held every Sunday. The directors, therefore, in view of the general unpopularity of the Sunday-closing condition, have voted to disregard it, and to refund to the Government, after the payment of other obligations, and before any money is received by the stockholders, the value of the appropriation.

This sketch of the financial side of the Fair to the date of its opening has seemed necessary to a proper understanding of how the original estimated cost has been nearly doubled since the inception of the enterprise. It may also be stated that nearly the entire amount of money expended, with the exception of the two million dollars

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from the Government, has been secured in and by the city of Chicago, the subscriptions from points outside of Chicago being only an insignificant fraction of the whole amount.

The interesting question next arises as to the financial results of this colossal enterprise: How much of the money thus expended can it be hoped to return to the investors?

Many impressions have gained credence throughout the country as to the supposed impoverished and nearly bankrupt condition of the Exposition, which are entirely erroneous. With the exception of balances due to some of the contractors, who are satisfied to defer the time of payment until the money shall be earned, all bills have been promptly paid. No workman or employé of the Exposition Company has ever been obliged to wait an hour for his wages. The strain upon the financial resources of the city has been and still is extremely great, as, in addition to the nineteen million dollars expended in direct connection with the Fair, at least an equal amount has been expended in hotels, boarding-houses and various other enterprises, based upon the expectation of a large attendance and a consequent large disbursement of money by visitors, and upon this large amount—some thirty-five or forty million dollars—no return has yet been realized.

On May 1, when the Fair was opened, the principal buildings were substantially complete, at least so far as to give ample accommodation to exhibitors. The exhibits, however, were incomplete in nearly every department. Probably two-thirds of all the articles entered for exhibition were not unpacked, and the interiors of every building seemed in a state of inextricable confusion. Much work remained to be done upon the grounds, as the late and tempestuous spring had rendered it impossible to get the roads and walks to any extent in a passable condition. The work, however, of organizing and arranging has gone forward with great rapidity, and while, at this writing—June 1—some of the exhibits are still incomplete, owing mostly to delays in transportation, yet by May 20 the Exposition was in a fairly presentable state. The conditions, therefore, for the first two-thirds of May were extremely unfavorable; yet the gate-receipts for paid admissions to the grounds during the month of May were $582,262.

The newspaper reports of the opening of the Fair and of its unfinished condition, together with the almost incessant rains for the

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first half of the month, rendered the attendance from points outside Chicago insignificant during May, so that this financial result cannot be taken as any criterion of the results for the coming five months. It is estimated that the operating expenses of the Exposition will be something less than one hundred thousand dollars a week, or, from the opening to the closing of the Fair, two million five hundred thousand dollars. The attendance for the first month, despite the unfavorable weather and the incompleteness of the Exposition, averaged about forty-five thousand people a day, who paid for their admission. From June 1 forward, with everything in admirable condition, and an exhibition in every department of human activity the most complete and inspiring the world has ever seen, it would seem not unreasonable to anticipate that the attendance for the remaining five months of the Exposition will average at least treble that of the opening month. This would make the gross receipts for gate-money for the entire six months something over ten million dollars.

The principal source of revenue outside the gate-money is derived from the percentages charged upon the receipts of the various concessionaires, who have acquired the privilege of catering within the grounds to the varied wants of the visitors. The concessions are very numerous, and upon the gross receipts of all people having these privileges, the Exposition Company receives a percentage varying from five or ten per cent upon the sale of merchandise from the Oriental countries, to twenty-five per cent upon all restaurant receipts, and the receipts of the various places of entertainment, like the Turkish, Chinese and Arab theatres, the streets of Cairo, the quaint German villages, the menageries, captive balloons and towers, towns of Java, etc., to forty-five per cent upon the sale of popcorn, peanuts, soda water and other beverages. From results thus far shown, those best qualified to judge estimate the revenue from these sources to be at least four million dollars.

This estimate may seem large, but it must be borne in mind that, while visitors to the Fair pay fifty cents a day for admissions, the average visitor will spend much more than this for lunches, the purchase of curiosities, admissions to the foreign theatres and villages, and for rolling-chairs, rides in the gondolas, electric launches, elevated trains and steamers. In addition to the paid admissions, an average of at least fifteen thousand people a day enter upon free passes, being the paid employés of the Exposition, the exhibitors and their assistants, the concessionaires and their employés, the musi-

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cians, representatives of the press and various public officers, who expend within the grounds, in the aggregate, large amounts of money, upon all of which the Exposition receives a percentage. This percentage the concessionaires can well afford to pay, inasmuch as they pay no rent, and as the Exposition Company, at an expense of millions of dollars, has brought to them customers from the very ends of the earth.

After the close of the Fair, the vast buildings will be sold for taking down and removal, and it would seem to be a safe estimate that the salvage upon the property, costing nearly fourteen millions, would be one million dollars, and this almost entirely from the iron, steel and glass, which can be utilized in some form after the destruction of the buildings.

Tabulating, therefore, briefly, the income and expenditures, the prospective results would seem to be substantially as follows:

INCOME.

From gate receipts	$10,000,000
From concessions	4,000,000
From salvage	1,000,000
Total	$15,000,000

DISBURSEMENTS.

For payment of Debenture Bonds	$4,500,000
Floating indebtedness May 1, with cost of completing buildings and grounds	2,000,000
For possible repairs and new construction during continuance of Fair	500,000
For expenses of administration for six months	2,500,000
To be refunded to U. S. Government, for four million souvenir silver half-dollars	2,000,000
Total	$11,500,000

On the basis of estimates given, there would remain a sum of $3,500,000, after paying the liabilities, outside the amount due to stockholders and the city of Chicago. It was provided in the Act authorizing the issue of five million dollars in Chicago City bonds, and in the ordinances thereunder, that, while the city should not subscribe to the stock of the Exposition Company, it should receive back upon its contribution of five million dollars the same percentage, if any, which should be paid to the stockholders. These liabilities amount, therefore, in round numbers, to $5,600,000 on capital stock and five million dollars on city bonds, or a total of $10,600,000. Should the credit balance above estimated be substantially unchanged,

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the stockholders and the city of Chicago would receive back about one-third of their contributions.

The souvenir coins have not been paid out by the Exposition Company, but have been sold as souvenirs at the uniform price of one dollar each. About five hundred thousand of the coins have already been sold, and, as the coin is very beautiful, and is, in a way, the official souvenir of the Exposition, it is believed that a very large proportion, if not the whole, will be called for by the visitors before the close of the Fair, in which case an additional profit of $1,500,000 above the nominal value of the coins will be realized, which should make good any shrinkage in the general estimates heretofore submitted. Nearly the whole nominal value of the coins has been already realized by the Exposition Company, the coins at their par value being now held as a portion of the bank reserves by the Chicago banks, which will release them to the Exposition Company as fast as sales can be made.

From the estimates which have been given, it would seem to be more than probable that the stockholders of the Exposition and the city of Chicago, from the simple standpoint of dollars and cents, will be losers to the amount of six or seven millions of dollars as a result of the Exposition direct, to which should doubtless be added at least as much more for losses and depreciation of property in the enterprises indirectly connected with the Exposition. It is likewise probable that, should the attendance at the Fair be what is reasonably anticipated, an equal amount of money may be gained by the citizens, although not by the same people, as a rule, who are the subscribers to the stock. The gains will be largely by the proprietors of hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, saloons, newspapers and places of amusement, and by the various people and corporations engaged in the business of transportation. But should it result that every dollar of the stock subscriptions were a loss, there would be little fault-finding and criticism among the stockholders. The large subscribers as a class are men heavily interested in the business and prosperity of the city, and desirous that the work should be done in a manner to redound to its glory and honor. Very many, too, of the smaller stockholders, equally devoted to the advancement of the city, who in a general way could ill afford to lose even the amount of their moderate subscriptions, feel that, if their money is entirely lost, it is still a wise and profitable investment, in that they are enabled to study at their very doors the highest attainments of all civilized

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nations, and to learn more of these widely-separated peoples at an insignificant expense than could be accomplished by years of foreign travel.

It is believed that these estimates, which have been made with care and by a study of all readily available sources of information, are safe and conservative, in case no untoward disaster befall the Exposition. The cholera scourge, or the permanence of the present financial stringency, might keep many expected visitors from Chicago. But the Exposition is such an unquestioned triumph in all its aspects, artistic, mechanical and educational, that every visitor leaves it for his home an unpaid and enthusiastic advertiser. He will come again and bring his friends. This is especially true of the vast army of those interested in some phase of electricity and its cheapened production or wider application, for never before has been seen so marvellous an exhibition of this subtle and incomprehensible force, which, in the near future, is to dominate and supersede all other forms of mechanical energy.

From a general standpoint, it may be stated that among the most valuable contributions to the Exposition have been the services of Mr. Lyman J. Gage, a man of the highest character, and of broad and varied experience in matters of finance. Mr. Gage was the first President of the Exposition Company, and rendered invaluable aid in its organization and early operation, and in the adjustment of the different views of the directors and the National Commission, and he has ever since been the chairman of its Finance Committee. As President of the Exposition Company for part of the second and the whole of the present year, Mr. H. N. Higinbotham is a worthy successor of Mr. Gage, being a man of the highest standing and ability, of wide business experience, of sound judgment in matters of finance, and of unfailing tact and accurate knowledge of men. In the management of the vast and complicated interests of the Exposition, the administration of its affairs by these gentlemen has left nothing to be desired, and their efforts have been ably seconded by the board of directors made up largely from Chicago's most experienced and trustworthy business-men, who rank so high in character that no taint or suspicion of jobbery has ever attached to their work. Their standing in the community has lifted them above the possibility of dishonor.

To the people outside Chicago, the Fair will be a magnificent

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benefaction. Never upon the earth has there been witnessed such a superb aggregation of the works of all nations at their very best. It is the bright, consummate flower of human civilization, and its results in the education of our people in the direction of industrial and artistic achievements will be lasting and immeasurable. Chicago is a young city; its wealth is to-day largely in possession of those by whom it has been accumulated, and these people recognize the fact that this wealth is the result, not alone of their individual exertions and business foresight and sagacity, but, far more than this, of the phenomenal growth and development of the city itself and the country tributary to it, through the agency of modern systems of transportation, and of the business-methods rendered possible by the new mechanical and scientific agencies of the last half-century. So lavish an expenditure, based upon an anomalous civic pride, would be forever impossible in a city of inherited wealth, the possessors of which recognize, as a rule, in but scanty measure, their obligations to the community.

FRANKLIN H. HEAD.

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CHICAGO'S SANITARY CONDITION.

BECAUSE of the large number of people who expect during the coming summer to visit the World's Fair, there is at this time the greatest interest felt in the sanitary condition of Chicago, and some will possibly even be deterred from coming in consequence of the erroneous statements which have from time to time been put forth by some of the leading newspapers, particularly of the eastern cities. I desire to show in this article that those statements are without foundation.

To a medical man, it is surprising that so many people still feel fear of small-pox. Last summer witnessed an embargo on the whole Northwest, the result of a few cases of small-pox occurring at Victoria, B. C., and so great was the alarm, that, in at least one instance, stoppage of all communication between the Canadian Northwestern Territories and the United States was contemplated. Had this occurred before the protective power of vaccination was known, it would have been perfectly reasonable; but at this time it is surprising that people can be so alarmed at a disease which may, in individuals, be so easily prevented. Nevertheless, this fear does still exist, and there are some people who will hesitate about visiting a city where small-pox has been reported. For the benefit of these I quote from the vital statistics of Chicago, which show that during the last year there were only five cases of variola in the city, with but one death. The explanation of this minute number of cases of small-pox is found in the rigid enforcement of compulsory vaccination among school-children, and the care of the Health Department immediately to quarantine any suspected case, and thus stamp out the disease. This statement will doubtless be sufficient to allay any anxiety from this source.

Many are apprehensive that cholera will find its way to Chicago this year. Unfortunately we cannot so certainly control cholera as we can small-pox; but from the preparations which have been made to inspect thoroughly all incoming emigrants, from the thoroughness which we expect of the quarantine officers at the sea-ports, and from

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the efforts of our foreign consuls to prevent the embarkation of those suffering from the disease, we feel confident that not many, if any, cases can reach this country; or in case they do find lodgment, we feel hopeful that through inspection at intermediate points, they will be stopped before reaching this city. However, should cholera succeed in gaining entrance to Chicago, the experience of 1873 has given us proof that it may be isolated and stamped out without affecting any considerable number in the community.

For these reasons I have no hesitation in reiterating what I said at a meeting of the profession in this city, called to consider the means for preventing the entrance or the spread of cholera, *viz.*, "There is every reason to believe that there will not be as many deaths from cholera in the United States this year, as from lightning." In Chicago, the activity of the city officials in cleaning the streets and alleys, and the care of the Health Department in looking after emigrants or suspected persons, gives a feeling of security that I believe is well founded. I am informed by Mr. Geo. S. Wells, Superintendent of the Chicago Street Cleaning Department, that thirty miles of the principal streets are thoroughly swept daily; besides which, about seventy miles of other streets are swept every day, the work being distributed according to the needs in various parts of the city; and the paved alleys are expected to be swept twice a week. Garbage throughout the city is expected to be removed daily, tri-weekly or semi-weekly, according to localities.

In reply to a letter from the Health Commissioner of Chicago, Mr. Wells, under date of May 31st, writes:—

> "In reply to your request for a report on the condition of the streets and alleys, I beg to say that under the new organization, ninety-five per cent of the streets of the city have been thoroughly and well cleaned, since April 1st, and will continue to be cleaned as often as required."

Of the sixty thousand garbage receptacles in the streets and alleys, ninety per cent have been carefully and well cleaned in the same time, and the sanitary condition of the alleys is very much better than it has been before in some years. The force will carefully attend to keeping them in their present condition. The efficient Health Commissioner, Dr. Arthur R. Reynolds, is making every effort to secure house-to-house inspection, which will prevent the collection of garbage and other refuse under sidewalks or in back yards.

The sewers of Chicago are regularly cleaned, and contrary to what is commonly supposed, have sufficient grade to secure a good current

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for the river of water that is run through them daily, besides which, they are thoroughly flushed, as often as is necessary to prevent the collection of deposits. To comprehend the large quantity of water that is run through Chicago sewers, it must be understood that the capacity of the various water-supply tunnels is 504,000,000 gallons a day, and that twenty-six engines, with a capacity of 355,500,000 gallons, brought in last year practically an average of 194,000,000 gallons a day, all of which again ran out through the sewers. This amounts to about four-and-a-half barrels a day for each person in the city; so that an ordinary household would wash out its waste-pipes every day with from twenty to twenty-five barrels of water.

In answer to a letter from the Health Commissioner, Mr. O. H. Cheney, Superintendent of Sewers, writes under date of May 31st, 1893:—

"I am happy to say that the sewerage system of Chicago at the present time is in as good condition as we could desire. Our additional water-supply from the four-mile crib gives us all the water necessary for frequent flushings. We find it necessary to flush them from four to six times a season to keep them perfectly clean, and now we have the water to flush oftener if necessary; we can promise in future a perfect sanitary condition so far as our sewers are concerned."

About eighty-five per cent of the Chicago sewerage empties directly into the river, which normally flows toward the lake; but when the wind is in the east so that water is driven in from the lake, the current is checked, and were it not for the pumping works at Bridgeport, on the South Branch, the river would at such times be stagnant. But these pumps, which have a capacity of 86,400,000 gallons a day, turn the direction of the current and send a large portion of the sewerage toward the Gulf of Mexico, where it will all go on the completion of the new drainage canal. The North Branch is constantly flushed by lake water pumped in at Fullerton Avenue, about three miles from its junction with the main river.

The new drainage canal, twenty miles of which are now under contract, is expected to be completed in April, 1896. When finished, it will have a width of 160 ft. in the rock in earth, 340 ft. width at top, and 210 ft. at bottom, with an average depth of 35 ft. and a current of one-and-a-half miles an hour. This will furnish a large river of pure lake water flowing into the city at a rate which will keep the Chicago river in good condition and prevent any possible contamination of the lake-water from sewage.

Undoubtedly the cause for greatest anxiety has been the reported

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prevalence of typhoid fever. But far more dangerous to tourists here, as elsewhere, are the severe gastro-intestinal disorders incident to fatigue and irregular habits, as well as to changes of food and water. Typhoid, or as it is often termed, nervous fever, has been frequent in Chicago for two or three years preceding the close of 1892, but its apparent prevalence is believed by many physicians to depend largely upon *la grippe*, which has visited the city regularly every year during this period. It is altogether probable that a large percentage of the cases of so-called typhoid fever were really but the sequelæ to influenza,—a true nervous fever, entirely different from typhoid in its etiology: indeed, the statements of many of the leading physicians assure me that such a fever was extremely common in 1889, 1891 and 1892.

During the last winter, although there have been many cases which for want of a better name have been termed *la grippe*, yet there has been nothing like the prevalence of this affection that was witnessed in the three preceding years. This is doubtless one explanation for the falling-off of reported typhoid fever during the last few months. There is also much reason for believing that many of the fatalities reported as due to typhoid fever were really due to other diseases. In this opinion I am confirmed by the investigation of Dr. J. R. Brandt, formerly Chairman of the Hospital Committee of the Board of County Commissioners, who informed me that out of a considerable number of reported deaths from typhoid in one section of the city which he had personally, or through his agent, investigated, a large percentage had occurred from other diseases, such as rheumatism, heart-disease and even consumption. Although I am confident that there has been much less typhoid fever in Chicago during the last three years than has been reported, yet it is probable that the same influences have operated in other cities to magnify the number of cases reported as having died of this disease, and therefore a comparison of statistics from various cities would not be materially affected by the erroneous certificates furnished to the Health Office. Taking the reports of the Health Office as the best source of information in determining the number of deaths from typhoid, we find that the disease has been alarmingly prevalent in Chicago during the three years preceding the closing months of 1892, but a comparison of statistics antedating the opening of the new water-supply tunnel with those following this event, gives a most favorable showing.

Through the kindness of Dr. Frederick S. Coolidge, I am enabled

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to use the statistics which he obtained from the Chicago Board of Health bearing upon this subject. A comparison of some of the reports for 1891, 1892 and 1893, shows the following death-rate from typhoid fever, during the fall and winter months:—

January, 1891,—; 1892, 311; 1893, 41. February, 1891,—; 1892, 187; 1893, 30. September, 1891, 190; 1892, 138. October, 1891, 171; 1892, 92. November, 1891, 150; 1892, 67. December, 1891, 186; 1892, 47.

This great decrease in the number of deaths from typhoid was coincident, first, with the closing of the inshore intake, and second, with the opening of the new tunnel, which supplies a considerable portion of the city with pure water. We find at the same time a marked decline in the general mortality of the city, similar to that noticed when the original two-mile tunnel was opened in 1867. At that time the city was so much smaller that its drainage did not contaminate the lake near the crib, and this tunnel furnished an abundance of excellent water. However, the much greater mortality before the opening of the four-mile tunnel does not appear to have resulted from the condition of the lake water at the old two-mile crib, or at any of the other intakes that are now in use, but rather to the admixture of water much contaminated by sewage let in from an inshore crib which will not be used again. The enormous increase of population during the last few years, and some defect at the intake, rendered it impossible to supply sufficient water through the old tunnels; and the city authorities, to prevent a water-famine, were compelled to let in water from near shore. This necessity was completely removed by repairing the crib and opening the large new tunnel, and it is believed such a dangerous expedient will never have to be adopted again, certainly not for many years, excepting in case of some great conflagration.

Undoubtedly one potent cause for the gastro-intestinal disorders referred to, as well as for typhoid fever, lies in the occasional imperfection of the drinking-water. Chicago water is obtained from Lake Michigan, and I believe no better potable water can be found, for although it is not soft, the mineral elements which it contains in small quantities are mostly essential to the human body, and must be supplied through the water or other sources. The London "Lancet" for April 9, 1893, says—

"In respect to colour, total solid matter, hardness, chlorine and oxygen required to oxidise organic matter, Lake Michigan water is seen to be superior to the choicest of London's supply."

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The city water is taken in through various tunnels located in different parts of the city. One, in the extreme northern portion of the city, is known as the Lake View tunnel. Two together in the southern part of the north side are commonly known as the old two-mile tunnel. One on the south side near Twelfth street, is known as the four-mile tunnel, and another still farther south, near the World's Fair Grounds, is known as the Hyde Park, or Sixty-eighth street tunnel. The purity of the water from these tunnels varies because of the river-water, which in limited quantity, from time to time, may find its way out to the intake at the cribs. The water obtained through the Hyde Park tunnel is less pure than any other; that from the Lake View tunnel is much better; that from the old two-mile tunnel is of good quality, and that from the four-mile tunnel is excellent.

The capacity of these tunnels a day, is as follows: Hyde Park (or Sixty-eighth street), and Lake View, seventy-two million gallons each. The old two-mile tunnel, two hundred and twenty million gallons, and the four-mile tunnel, one hundred and forty million gallons. The water from these various sources undergoes more or less mixture in the service-pipes, but notwithstanding this, the average since the completion of the four-mile tunnel, as has been repeatedly shown by microscopic, chemical and bacteriological tests, is better than that supplied in any other large city in America, and compares favorably with that of any large city in the world.

Excepting immediately following unusually severe rains, when a larger amount of water is poured from the river into the lake, the water is good, and even at such times that obtained from the four-mile tunnel remains of superior quality. Many critical chemical and bacteriological tests have been made by Professor W. S. Haines, of Rush Medical College, by Professor John H. Long, of the Northwestern University, and by others in the city. Professor Victor C. Vaughn, of the Michigan University, has examined a large number of specimens of the water within the last few months. In none of these examinations, so far as I have been able to ascertain, has there been found a single typhoid bacillus, and all these experts now unite in pronouncing the water of good quality.

Before the opening of the four-mile tunnel, the rapidly increasing population of the city so contaminated the river-water by sewerage, that whenever the inshore intake was used, and at some other times after heavy rains, a large number of bacteria were discovered by these

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examinations. The consequent agitation by the daily papers led many people to sterilize the water by heat, or clarify it through filters, and this plan is still adopted by many, though at present it is not necessary. At the World's Fair, an abundance of pure water is supplied through a pipe-line from the Springs at Waukesha, Wisconsin; and at frequent intervals through the grounds are tanks of sterilized water where all can quench their thirst free of charge. In addition to this, pure spring water is sold at numerous other places at one cent a glass. At most of the hotels, restaurants and boarding-houses, either Waukesha or sterilized water, which is absolutely safe, is furnished for the guests.

With a pure water-supply, Chicago must of necessity be one of the healthiest cities in the world. The broad, flat prairies upon the west and Lake Michigan on the east offer no obstruction to the winds which prevent the collection of foul air. Even the poorest people live in the light and air, because from the nature of the soil and the wholesome sanitary laws they are unable to burrow in cellars and unlighted rooms, as they do in many other cities. The changeable weather, which furnishes such a fruitful topic of conversation for many tourists and native grumblers, is not an unmitigated evil, as some suppose. It is observed that the temperature in Chicago, influenced by Lake Michigan, is several degrees warmer in winter than a few miles inland, and that it is correspondingly cooler in summer. Although there are sudden changes, the mercury in summer sometimes falling twenty or thirty degrees in an hour, this in many instances proves most beneficial, and is seldom injurious to those who are properly clothed. The hot periods never last more than a few days. It is very rarely hot at night; and the depressing influences of the heat are quickly rallied from during the cool wave that follows.

A comparison of the mortality reports of Chicago with those of other large cities, furnished me by the City Health Commissioner and the Secretary of the Illinois State Board of Health, and obtained by Dr. A. M. Corwin from the Newberry Library, shows that the sanitary condition must be good, for there is no other large city in the United States with so low a death-rate per thousand. These statistics are based upon the school census of May, 1892, and are undoubtedly as accurate as those of other cities, excepting that they make no allowance for the large increase in population during the last six months from visitors, exhibitors and laborers; deaths among whom are counted against Chicago. If the actual present population

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could be shown, the figures would be even more favorable to Chicago. In 1891, when the population was 1,250,000, there were 27,754 deaths, or the alarming number of 22.2 a thousand. I have not the statistics of other large cities for the same time, but I find that in 1892 the death-rate in several was as follows:—New York, 24.2; Boston, 23.92; Baltimore, 23.26; Philadelphia (nearly as bad), 21.98; and Brooklyn, 21.94. This shows that even in 1891, when the death-rate in Chicago was admittedly high, it was less than that of these large eastern cities, even for the healthier year of 1892. Comparing the statistics of Chicago for 1892 with those already given, for the same time, for other large cities in the United States, it is seen to have a lower death-rate than any of them, being only 18.1 a thousand.

For the months of January and February, the death-rate a thousand in several American and foreign cities, was as follows:—Manchester, 26.71; Liverpool, 26.17; Boston, 24.76; London, 23.24; Edinburgh, 23.3; New York, 22.41; Brooklyn, 22.36; Philadelphia, 21.98; Baltimore, 21.6; Cincinnati, 19.61; Chicago, 17.73. This estimate for Chicago is based on the census of 1892; but it is claimed that there have been added to the city's population since that time 180,000 inhabitants, who have not been taken into consideration in making this estimate, and who would make the death-rate a thousand considerably lower.

An examination of statistics from the foreign cities whose reports were attainable at the Newberry Library for the months of January, February, March and April, 1893, appears to show that this year thus far has been healthier than those immediately preceding it; but this does not greatly modify the results of comparison between the sanitary conditions of Chicago and those of the other principal cities of the world. For these four months the death-rate a thousand per annum is estimated as follows:—Paris, Warsaw and Rome, each 26.+; Vienna and Glasgow, 25.+; Liverpool, Lyons and Odessa, 24.+; Munich, Copenhagen and Palermo, 23.+; Edinburgh and Stockholm, 20.+; and London, 19.53. During the same time, the death-rate in Chicago averaged 19.18, but for the month of May it has run even less.

The principal dangers to tourists in visiting the World's Fair City or any other healthy city, are from over-fatigue, over-heat, irregular habits due to new surroundings, and change of water and food; and many suffer from these conditions regardless of the sanitary con-

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dition of the place they are visiting. It therefore becomes important for all to exercise extra precautions when away from home, particularly in summer. The abundant supply of milk, meat, vegetables and fruits in Chicago, is thoroughly inspected and is of the best quality. The summers are cool. An unlimited amount of good drinking-water is furnished, averaging one hundred and thirty-four gallons a day for each man, woman and child in the city. Therefore I have no hesitation in saying that nobody need keep away from the World's Fair through doubt as to Chicago's perfect healthfulness, provided he will only exercise ordinary prudence, bring sufficient clothing, and remember that it is advisable never to wander far without an overcoat before the first of July.

E. Fletcher Ingals.

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AN ACTOR'S MEMORY OF EDWIN BOOTH.

THE greater part of what has recently been written about Edwin Booth and his work has come from critics and from his non-professional friends in public and private life. There is one point of view which has been little regarded in making up the record of his career —the player's point of view, the coign of vantage held by those closely associated with him behind the scenes. The world knows how superb was the acting and how irresistibly winning the presence of Mr. Booth as the audience saw him. But the actor who was in daily association with him for six out of the twenty-four hours, all devoted to the discussion, preparation and performance of a common task, has a unique remembrance of days and nights of untiring, patient, devoted, self-denying toil bestowed by the great tragedian on the minutest detail of their joint endeavors.

It has been hinted that Mr. Booth, while a consummate artist, was not studious or painstaking, that he bestowed little attention upon the preparation of his plays, that he went upon the stage regardless of those about him in the scene and depended largely upon the moment's inspiration for his great effects. I have heard it said that he even took no especial pains to commit to memory the great parts he played. Against these belittling imputations I raise my voice in earnest protest. Older men than I can testify to his earlier studies; I can say that during the period of my personal acquaintance with him, Edwin Booth never ceased to study and refine and perfect his art. It is doubtless true that Mr. Booth acquired many of the parts he played without effort during his boyish association with his father. But he was never content with merely knowing the lines of the character he chose to represent. Neither did he rest after the complete study of the whole play. He gathered all the fruits of human knowledge that could be brought to adorn the feasts of fancy spread before his admirers. Indeed, I venture to say that not the least valuable lesson younger actors learned from him was the courageous and thoughtful substitution of a healthy originality for cold convention. In dealing with the plays of Shakespeare, he had to encounter in his

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early career the stubbornness of stage-tradition which exacted that as a certain part had been played in a certain way by a certain actor, so it must continue to be played. Many of these traditions Booth overcame by sheer force of his scholarly taste; others melted gradually before his illuminating example. If no other evidence of his service in the improvement of his art were extant, the series of prompt-books prepared under his direction, many of them in his own hand, would alone attest it.

His instinctive shrinking from anything like self-praise impelled him often to ascribe to accident the adoption of some felicitous detail of illustrative action or variation of reading. Once, while we were rehearsing Hamlet, he told me how he came to adopt the action of swearing Horatio and Marcellus upon the cross of his sword. One night, he said, while kneeling during the Ghost's speech with his hands pressing rather heavily upon the sword-hilt, the point sank into the stage so that when he fell prone at the exit of the Ghost the sword remained standing. When he came to the line

"Never make known what you have seen to-night,"

he turned to recover the sword. Seeing it standing with the light shining upon the cross, the words

"I'll cross it though it blast me,"

came into his mind, and he grasped it by the blade and held out the cross for his companions to swear on. Thenceforward he adopted that action. It was this alertness of mind that distinguished him, where another actor, content with tradition, and wedded to old ways, would have seized the sword by the hilt, as usual.

Other notable modifications were similarly inspired. One evening during a performance of "Macbeth" in which I was the Banquo, while we were sitting in his dressing-room during an interval between the acts, he said to me: "Did I ever tell you how I came to adopt the plan of having the Banquo apparitions all wear hair of the same color and the mark of blood upon the brow? I was, one night, instructing the stage carpenter at Booth's Theatre about enlarging the aperture in the scene through which the apparitions are visible as they pass, and happened to use a stick of red grease-paint to sketch my idea upon my mirror. I drew with it a rude suggestion of a bloody head within the outline. The line came into my mind—

"——'Thy hair,
Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first'——

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and so I directed that the ghosts should thenceforth wear red wigs and bloody pate."

Mr. Booth was not easily deterred or influenced by prejudice against innovation when once convinced of the practical benefit of a new idea. It must be borne in mind that his improvements of stage-business were made in the days of stock companies. One of the most important rules affecting the rights of members of such a company was that an actor holding a "position" could not be left out of any of his customary scenes or deprived of any of his customary lines without his consent. Nevertheless Mr. Booth introduced an important modification of the banquet-scene in "Macbeth" which will be long remembered as one of the most startling and magnificent of his artistic triumphs. It was that of speaking, over an empty stool, the lines which are supposed to be addressed to the ghost of Banquo, and dispensing with the presence of the actor playing the part. At first he met with difficulty in inducing the "heavies" to give up the old-time action of stalking on and sitting down upon the stool with finger pointing to a ghastly wound in the throat and hair and beard covered with the dripping contents of the carmine saucer; but his ineffable courtesy and tact eventually prevailed and the omission came into tradition as "Booth's business."

The great improvement of the stage in its pictorial relation during Mr. Booth's time is largely traceable to his influence and the correctness of his taste. He spared no toil to himself in the study of archæological works upon dress, furniture, building and decoration, in order to direct the appropriate costuming and setting of the stage. The opening of Booth's Theatre with "Romeo and Juliet" is memorable as the first occasion on the American stage when the exact details of dress and scenery proper to the period of the play were minutely observed. The numerous expensive works upon the arts of ancient and mediæval Europe which now repose in the library of The Players' Club, and which were a part of Mr. Booth's magnificent private library, bear unmistakable signs of his close personal study, many of them filled with marginal notes in his own handwriting, slips of cross-reference and tracings made with his own hand. For a man who had received no greater impulse to education than a few months in a country-school, he indeed possessed an amazing knowledge of books, and in the polite literature of the English tongue few men were better read.

He was profoundly versed in all matters relating to Shakespeare,

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was always ready to explain the meaning of obscure passages in the plays and took great pains to make everything clear to others. The annotations in many of his books and his notes on Hamlet and the other plays published by Mr. Horace Howard Furness plainly indicate that his mind was ever healthy and his judgment unerring. He one day received one of the foolish Shakespeare-theory books that a few years ago were quite plentiful. At first, he was rather puzzled by it and asked me to read it. I told him I thought it a hoax, and I think he had already reached that conclusion himself. We began from that time what he was pleased to call our "Shakespearean excursions," the interchange of notes and notions about the meanings of certain obscure passages and information gathered here and there to illustrate different scenes of the plays. We kept up this custom until a short time before his death. He was particularly desirous of finding some authority in literature outside of the folio edition of Shakespeare for the word "inobled," in "Hamlet," which he always used instead of the word "mobled"—

"1st *Player.*—But who, oh, who had seen the inobled queen?
"*Hamlet.*—The inobled queen?
"*Polonius.*—That's good. Inobled queen is good."

He asked me to look up the matter for him, and a few days afterward I pleased him greatly by the suggestion that it was probably an indication of Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin, as I found that an exactly synonymous word, *innobilitatus*, existed in Latin and existed only in the past participle form. Besides it existed in only one instance, and that only in a work written just before the period which scholars had fixed for the last of the classics.

Another illustration new to him and which interested him much was the parallel between St. Patrick's hymn:

Christ be on my right hand,
Christ be on my left hand,
Christ be before me,
Christ be behind me,—

and the passage in the second act of "Othello," in which Cassio welcomes Desdemona to Cyprus—

"The grace of heaven
Before, behind thee and on every hand
Enwheel thee round."

During the performance of a play, Mr. Booth was always very

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quiet and reserved. He seldom spoke to anybody and went directly from his dressing-room to the stage and from the stage back to his dressing-room when the curtain fell. Of course, to the two or three of the company with whom he was on terms of old friendship he would now and then exchange a pleasant word, but he kept thoroughly self-collected. He went about so quietly that a stranger would have thought him one of the subordinate actors. Yet though he seemed neither to see nor hear what was going on, he was keenly appreciative of the humor of situations and incidents. I have heard him laugh gleefully a dozen times over a curiously free adaptation of one of Hamlet's speeches of which our Irish property-man was guilty. George, having occasion to scold one of his assistants one night during the play of "Hamlet," was heard to exclaim: "Look here! I want you to understand I'm like what Mr. Booth said awhile ago —'Ye can fret me but ye can't fiddle me!'" I have often thought Booth remembered George's impromptu improvement on Shakespeare and applied it to himself.

His strenuous efforts at a wholly artistic result were never for an instant relaxed even amid the most trying exigencies of a long and elaborate rehearsal. I have seen him at "full rehearsal" standing quietly in the midst of apparent chaos, with actors, scene-shifters, machinists, scene-painters, property-men, musicians, and that often derided but very important body, the "supers," taking directions from him each in turn. Calm and self-contained, thoroughly considerate of everybody's needs and shortcomings, he knew exactly what to do and say at the right moment. No other "star," and I have seen many "stars" in that position, possessed his equanimity or displayed one tithe of his wonderful ability to direct. If he had occasion to point out a mistake, he did so quietly, and wherever he could he preferred to convey his corrections of faults in private. I never knew him, except when absolutely necessary for the integrity of the scene, to point out an actor's mistake in the hearing of others; but I have known him to go specially to the theatre and spend two hours a day in instructing a young actor in the business of Laertes for the fencing-scene in the last act of Hamlet. He was always the first to signify his appreciation of a well-played scene and never reproached any unfortunate who blundered, even though some of his most exquisite and delicate effects were ruined. His courtesy toward his companions and especially to those of humble position was most marked and considerate.

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In the summer of 1886, I was engaged by Mr. Barrett as one of the company which was to support Mr. Booth in an extended tour of the country. I had been introduced to Mr. Booth originally by John McCullough in California in 1876. The company met for its first rehearsal on the stage of the Academy of Music in New York, on Monday, September 6th, 1886. We were for the most part strangers to each other. Mr. Barrett was playing with his own company at the Star Theatre, and he came to us to rehearse the play of "Richelieu." It had long been a custom with Mr. Booth to avoid the fatigue of rehearsals, and therefore the presence of Mr. Barrett on this occasion in his stead increased our conviction that we should see little of our leader before the actual work of playing began. The next day, however, Mr. Booth and Mr. Barrett appeared together for the rehearsal of "Hamlet." Mr. Barrett, after making a pleasant little speech introducing the company generally to Mr. Booth and stating that the latter would personally direct us in our preparation of all the plays of his repertoire, left us and we saw him no more until the end of the season.

From the very first, with an easy grace and a manner entirely devoid of managerial importance, Mr. Booth patiently and clearly explained to us as we spoke our respective lines the action with which he was accustomed to have each situation and sentiment of the play accompanied. By the time we had finished the first act we were all, if not perfectly at ease, yet sure we should have no reason to be uncertain, when the time of performance arrived. We had gone along very smoothly and were just finishing the last scene when Horatio, probably on account of some lingering nervousness, made a slight mistake in reading the last line or "tag"—

——"Good night, sweet prince!
"And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!"

He had gone as far as:

——"Good night, sweet prince!
"And *flocks* of angels"——

when Mr. Booth, who had moved away from his position in the scene and was about to leave the stage, turned quickly and, with an exquisite gleam of humor in his face and a merry ring in his voice, exclaimed, "*Flocks!* Flocks of geese!" The correction was so deftly good-natured and the manner so cordial that Horatio, far from

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being hurt by the realization of his blunder, joined heartily in the general laugh.

This keen, quick humor was one of Mr. Booth's most delightful traits. The world, and with good reason, esteemed him a sad and melancholy man. To his intimates, however, he often gave opportunities of knowing another side of his character. Sometimes during the serious working-hours, while the spirited action of Richard or the tender and romantic passion of Hamlet were, in the imagination of the vast audience, engrossing his every thought, he would give a covert look or whisper a word to some fellow-player that would convey an idea of delicious humor. He used to say, and I think the experience of every actor proves the remark is true: "Nature seems to provide a relief for the strain of acting in these flashes of relaxation." I have heard him more than once speak of his father leaving the stage for an instant during some terrific scene of Richard or Sir Giles Overreach, and while waiting for his cue to reënter whispering some amusing story to a friend in the wings.

On the night of our first performance of "Richelieu," the weather was excessively warm and the atmosphere of the crowded theatre was stifling. We had all suffered greatly from the heat during the performance and when the last scene was reached were well-nigh exhausted. We were nearing the last grand climax of the play. Mr. Booth as the Cardinal was lying upon a couch at the left of the scene, Miss Vaders as Julie and myself as De Mauprat were kneeling on either side of him. He had just gone through the most expressive action of warning the King against too hasty action upon the advice of Baradas, and had fallen back gasping for air as the king uttered the words:

"——I half repent!
"Round me thrones totter, dynasties dissolve—"

when at the word he looked up at me with a glance of mock pathos and said: "Yes! and everybody on the stage is dissolving too!"

Now those pretty little books about the paradox of acting give us many wise terms to apply to these incidents. There is one simple explanation. When the actor is perfect in his part, that is, when he knows what he is going to say and do, how he is going to do and say it, and that he is going to do and say it, he finds many pauses and breathing-spaces in the course of the most arduous impersonation, during which the mind simply rests itself and does nothing, or goes on a voyage of discovery.

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From New Orleans through Texas and up to Los Angeles we travelled in a private car. Mr. Booth's experience on our arrival in Galveston was not exactly agreeable. A large crowd gathered about the car to get a look at him and forced him to stay shut up all day. As we were leaving the car at Austin the next morning, Mr. Booth followed us to the platform and called, in a voice loud enough to be heard by the crowd, "Oh, Mr. Booth!" at the same time beckoning to one of the gentlemen of the company; "I beg your pardon, but shall you need your large valise at the hotel to-night?" The gentleman, who doubtless caught the twinkle of an eye before the question was uttered, gave the proper response to the cue and walked gravely up the street followed at a respectful distance by the crowd, and so a second siege was avoided.

As to Mr. Booth's personal unselfishness, I have frequently seen him during a performance, while waiting for his cue, walk across to his dressing-room and bring out a chair for himself rather than ask anyone else to do it. The tour of 1886 was the first of that magnitude he had undertaken for years. During the early months of the tour he would not consent to travel in a private car, as most theatrical celebrities were fond of doing, but took the ordinary accommodation of every-day travellers. Needless to say, he greatly endeared himself to us during those early weeks of our tour, and in the course of the season we heard from his own lips much of the simple story of his life. Of its tragic events and those which made wreck of many of his fondest aspirations, he never spoke. Neither did he speak to the slightest disparagement of man or woman. His bearing toward all was full of princely courtesy. To the ladies of the company he was ever a guide, protector, and friend.

As a story-teller Mr. Booth was unapproachable. His wonderfully expressive face "acted" all the time, and his powers of mimicry were astounding. It was said of Garrick that he was capable of acting a gridiron. With knowledge of Mr. Booth, I can understand the reasonableness of the remark. A story he used to tell with much gusto was of an incident which occurred in his early boyhood while he was travelling with his father. "Father," he said, "was playing Richard one night in New Orleans. John Green, who was well known as an Irish comedian and became a rival of Tyrone Power, was playing King Henry VI. The scene between father and the king went finely up to the death of the king. Father had spoken the words:

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—'Die, prophet, in thy speech!'

Green had made a very effective fall, and the audience were applauding vigorously, when the manager's big mastiff, by some oversight left unchained, walked out upon the stage and deliberately began sniffing at Green's upturned face. Poor Green immediately and spasmodically rolled himself over; father stood with his sword *en garde*, the audience roared, and doggie held the stage!"

The reverence which Booth felt and expressed for his father's memory and his loyalty to the defence of his good fame against evil report appeared in every conversation in which the elder Booth was mentioned. Once, while rehearsing for Richard III., he laughingly referred to the many amusing stories told of his father's uncontrollable fury during the duel scene in the last act of that play. "Why," he said, "I've fought the combat with him many a time and it was anything but terrifying. The fact is, the story is one of the myths of the stage. I've heard it located in a dozen different cities by eye-witnesses." Speaking of the resemblance between his father and himself he said: "I am taller than he, but he was more muscular. He had a very brawny body and arms."

Speaking once in condemnation of the habit of "guying," Mr. Booth told of a certain California performance by his father's company in which he was cast for the part of Francis in "The Stranger." Henry Perry was the leading man of the company and of course played the title part. Perry, who was, Mr. Booth said, an admirable actor, was occasionally inclined to "guy." Among the popular negro melodies of the time was the song, "Carry me back to Ole Virginny." Tobias, one of the characters of the play, tells a long story to Francis while the Stranger remains silently reading and takes no part in the dialogue. One speech of the old man is, "I am very old and I cannot work any more." "At this speech," said Mr. Booth, "Perry looked up from his book and called to me: 'Francis! Francis! Carry him back, carry him back to Ole Virginny shore!' The conceit was so odd and so well timed that I could not for a time proceed with my lines. The audience seemed to think it part of the play and a very proper remark to make."

No greater temptation besets the actor than that of drink. After two or three hours of acting the system needs a restorative. That Edwin Booth mastered his own inherited tendency is one of the sublimest of his honors. What the self-denial meant to him is evident. Once, after a supreme effort in "Othello," a part which he

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played as no man but he could play it, with the exertion of every power of heart, body and soul, I heard him say, as we helped him to rise from the stage and he walked leaning upon the arm of Charles Barron to his dressing-room, "Oh, Charley, my boy, there's no use talking. This part is a great provocation to drink!"

Less than a week ago I went up to the room in the house of The Players where all that was left us of our dear friend and master lay waiting for the dawn, and looked for the last time upon the face where I had so often seen traced the joys and sorrows of the beings he created. The face showed no trace of pain or age, but was like the face of a tired child which had crept to its mother's arms and fallen into contented sleep. As I saw him lying there, under the roof which his bounty had provided, to shelter the "poor players" beside the hearthstone at which he had rested, I felt there was a glory in the dead presence greater than the glory of him who had led nations captive—the glory of a great artist whose life had been a lasting victory over self.

JOHN MALONE.

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THE ARMY AS A MILITARY TRAINING-SCHOOL.

HAS the time arrived for making the Army of the United States an educational Army? If it has not arrived, is it not rapidly approaching? To state the reasons why such a transformation of our military system is not only probable and desirable, but actually inevitable, is the purpose of this article.

By common consent our army is a truly national army, whose duties and interests are unaffected by changes in the political control of our Government. To ninety-nine out of every hundred of our officers and soldiers it made not the slightest difference in November, 1892, which way the political pendulum might swing. But if the army of the United States is safe from partisan attacks, it does not follow that the condition of our military organization is one we should be satisfied with. Almost plaintive indeed are the tones of the officer of the day as he inquires at the assembling of each successive Congress whether anything is to be done this year for the army, and, if so, what. Far from hopeful, and not strangely so, is the mind of the wearer of the uniform whose chance of obtaining a colonel's commission before he arrives at the retiring age of sixty-four is the gravest of problems, and whose prospect of actually commanding a regiment of troops during the years when he is really fitted for such command seems non-existent. Of one thing only is he certain—that something ought to be done for the army; what that something may be he has not really discovered.

But let him not despair. Only let the people know what needs to be done and how it shall be done and it will be done. What the United States needs now is not a permanent force of hired soldiers, but an effective system of training soldiers who will, after receiving their training, be good citizens. The new and brighter day of the United States Army will come when our military officers realize the disadvantage of a military system which makes the certificate of this Government that a man has rendered service to it as an enlisted soldier in the regular army a badge of demerit instead of a badge of merit and of honor; when they realize that with the same amount of money now

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expended in maintaining a comparatively inefficient army of twenty-four thousand men, an active army of fifty thousand young men may be drilled and maintained who would go back among their people at the end of their terms of enlistment, and who would then form the nucleus of an army of a million men if the country should need so many to defend it. This great fact the people of the United States are presently going to learn, but they will not learn it until the army itself apprehends it.

To reform the army we must begin at the bottom with the enlisted man, and not at the top with the commissioned officer. The report of the adjutant-general states that recruiting officers in making 8,147 enlistments last year rejected 20,931 applicants who lacked necessary qualifications, mental, moral, and physical. Thus more than seventy-two per cent of those who offered themselves for the army were refused. It is a striking fact that more men by several thousands than the total authorized force sought to enter the military service of the United States last year; and this fact might be thought to prove the excellence of our system if it were not admitted that in spite of the rejection of seventy-two per cent of the applications, there is still a constant and considerable percentage of thoroughly bad men in our army. If now we look at the causes of rejection of 15,992 out of 25,050 men examined in 1891, we find that 2,714 were refused for "general unfitness," 6,453 for disease (not including 2,112 rejected for imperfect sight), 960 under age, and 1,373 for insufficient height, weight, or size. Doubtless the same causes of rejection were proportionately operative in 1892, when nearly twenty-one thousand applicants were refused. Probably it is a fact that in time of war many of those to whom admission to the army last year was refused would be accepted as recruits; but it throws a clear light upon the popular feeling toward the army when we are thus officially apprised that in one year more than ten thousand physically or morally diseased men presented themselves as candidates for the ranks.

Now, what is the real character of the United States Army? We find that during the year ending June 30, 1892, 2,328 men whose time had expired were reënlisted, and that in addition to this number 7,950 new men were enlisted, and still the authorized limit of twenty-five thousand men was not reached. We find that 1,382 men deserted during the year—something more than half the number of desertions in 1888–89. We find that no less than 1,452 men were allowed to leave the army under the terms of the law of 1890, which permits men who have served

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three years to enjoy a furlough of three months with a discharge at the end of it. No less than 880 others went out by purchasing the privilege under the terms of the same law of 1890—an arrangement which cannot be too soon abolished for the good of the army. Other causes that helped to deplete the army were: Sentences of garrison courts-martial, 836; disability, 602; fraudulent enlistment, 394; enlistment under age, 185; deaths from disease, 158; retired, 122. It also appears that twelve men were promoted to be officers, that one man died of wounds, and that two men were actually killed in action during the year!

If the army were reorganized so as to limit the service to three years it would of course be necessary to provide for the retention of a sufficient number of the most efficient men as non-commissioned officers, and for this purpose the fourteen-year term of the German Army would be desirable; but there should be no continuance for a longer total period than twenty years in the army, except perhaps for ordnance-sergeants. The result would be a great reduction in the cost of the army. The item "pay of the army" foots up over thirteen million dollars each year. Of this amount about seven millions go to commissioned officers and six millions to non-commissioned officers and enlisted men. The average "pay" of each soldier in the army would therefore appear to be almost exactly five dollars a week. In a service wholly educational in its scope so much money would not be needed. The pay of a German soldier is about eight cents a day, or a little more than half a dollar a week. Two dollars a week ought to be a sufficient sum for an American youth whose three years of "duty" were to be a guarantee of employment and of character at the end of his term. Looking at the books of the paymaster-general, we find that last year $181,810.96 was paid to enlisted men on the retired list, who also received $50,328.58 for subsistence. When the idea that soldiering is a life-business goes out of fashion in this country there will be no additions to this list and the expenditure will gradually diminish till it ceases. The Soldiers' Home at Washington, which had on its rolls on September 30, 1892, 1,189 men—980 regulars and 209 temporary—costs over two hundred thousand dollars a year. This money comes from a fund made up of penalties and forfeitures deducted from the pay of soldiers and therefore does not appear as an item in the cost of the army. Yet it is an expenditure which could be gradually abolished if the enlistment were to be limited as proposed. Another important item of expense is the maintenance of the military prison

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at Fort Leavenworth, an admirably conducted institution, which costs $75,000 a year. If an efficient test of character could be enforced in taking young men into the army, there would be no military prison. Why should there be a prison in a well-organized army? If the people would make the United States Army what it ought to be, there would be as much need of a prison as an adjunct to the principal universities of the country as to the army.

From the report of the adjutant-general made last October, we find that there are twelve soldiers in the army who have served for more than thirty years continuously, and for less periods the figures are as follows: Twenty-five years, 206 with increased pay of six dollars a month; twenty years, 653 at five dollars a month; ten years, 1,745 at three dollars a month; five years, 4,180 at two dollars a month. This "service pay," together with the prospect of a place on the retired list after thirty years of continuous service, and the certainty of a comfortable refuge in the Soldiers' Home after twenty years' service, are a part of the inducements which the Government holds out to men to remain during life in the army; and at last it is beginning to be understood how mistaken is this policy. At the recent session of Congress, a provision was inserted in the army bill forbidding the reënlistment of privates who have served two terms unless they are already in their third term. This law does not affect the non-commissioned staff, nor does it include sergeants and corporals. While it should be the aim of the Government to discourage the idea of making mere soldiering a life-job, it is of the greatest importance to provide long terms of service for the worthier and more efficient men who will be needed as drill-masters and teachers in an educational army. These men, selected for good character as well as capacity, will not exercise injurious influence on the young men brought into association with them; and that central figure of the army, as it is now constituted, the old soldier, will cease to exist.

Civilians can have little idea of the extent to which this worship of the old soldier is carried in the regular service or of the curious things which often happen because of it. Not long ago a young cavalry officer, a graduate from the Military Academy in 1892, ordered a soldier at his post to take charge of his horse and see that it was properly cared for. He was astonished to receive a surly refusal and be informed that he had better take care of his own horse. He saw that the soldier was under the influence of liquor. He naturally attempted to vindicate his authority as officer and preferred charges

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against the insubordinate soldier which in due time reached the commanding general of the Department. Then a curious thing happened. The insolent soldier was a veteran of many years' service who had served in some forty battles and Indian engagements. He was personally known to the commanding general, and the young officer was immediately informed by private letter that this old soldier was a privileged character and that his insolence must be overlooked! It is difficult to understand how discipline can be maintained at all in an army which abounds in "characters" of this description.

Important testimony as to the vicious effect of continuing men in service under the present system is borne by Col. R. P. Hughes, Inspector-General of the Department of the East, in his last annual report. He says:

> "The reënlistment of private soldiers during periods of profound peace seems to me to be a very short-sighted policy. . . . Keeping private soldiers on the rolls until they have completed the number of years when the law will admit of their being placed on the retired list is undermining the general efficiency of our forces."

The conversion of the army into a great national military training-school would have for one of its most beneficent results the total abandonment of the present costly and laborious recruiting service, effecting an immediate probable saving of more than a million dollars a year and the restoration to their commands of all the officers (seventy) now employed in this service. Not only are there the great general rendezvous at David's Island, New York Harbor, Columbus, Ohio, and Jefferson Barracks, Missouri (three of the most expensive posts of the army), but it appears that last year nearly one hundred other rendezvous were in operation, and still the adjutant-general reports that if the new system of special regimental recruiting which yielded 1,582 recruits had not been in operation, there would have been 3,260 vacancies in the army on July 1, 1892.

No argument is needed to prove that the present recruiting system is excessively expensive. Under a purely educational system which made parents desirous of having their sons take the three years' training, each Congressional district would be entitled to supply twenty-five recruits each year. They would go directly from their homes to the posts and would be taken on all together in October each year according to the German system. Now the great recruiting depots are used as training-schools for the recruits who are kept there for three months after enlistment, so that they may know the rudiments of

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drill, etc., before actually taking their places in the ranks. The average number of recruits constantly at the three large recruiting depots last year was: Columbus Barracks, 587; David's Island, 547; Jefferson Barracks, 438. Hence it appears that while the adjutant-general states that the army was only 1,260 below its authorized strength on July 1, 1892, the total number of enlisted men actually accounted for at that time was less than twenty-two thousand; while the number reported present under arms at inspection was only 15,244.

The expense of maintaining our army, arsenals, and fortifications last year was as follows: Military establishment (army proper), $24,824,862.22; fortifications, $2,477,352.17; War Department, $2,220,312.45; military posts, buildings, and roads, $537,960.60; arsenals, $441,576; Military Academy, $110,496; total, $30,612,539.44.

In addition to this vast amount, there were miscellaneous expenditures disbursed through the War Department amounting to $5,479,433.59. This sum was required chiefly for the support of the Volunteer Soldiers' Homes, National Cemeteries, and other expenses consequent on the War of the Rebellion. The War Department now gives employment to 2,164 officers, clerks, messengers, and others. In 1861 the total number of employees in the department (not including officers) was 130. The Record and Pension Division, which will be largely reduced in a year or two, employs 854 clerks; but deducting these from the total number mentioned, there are over one thousand more clerks and other employees in the War Department than there were in 1861. A great saving is possible by improved methods of administration here if the army is put on an educational basis. In addition to the sum mentioned above as provided for new buildings, roads, etc., at army posts, there was spent last year for barracks and quarters the sum of $701,080.07 (included under the head "Military Establishment"). An enormous amount of construction has been going on at new posts which cannot be regarded as a permanent item of expenditure.

The following is the estimate of reductions in military expenditure which may be easily accomplished when the new posts are completed and we get rid of the idea that the army is maintained for the sake of keeping soldiers in the service for life: Pay of the army, $2,250,000; recruiting and transportation, $1,500,000; War Department administration, $750,000; military construction, $500,000; total possible saving, $5,000,000, which might be devoted to increasing the enlisted force under training to fifty thousand young men, or which might be cut off entirely should the present limit of the force be continued.

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Perhaps the most vicious feature of our whole system at the present time is the expedient of allowing men to buy their way out of the army during the second and third years of their first enlistment. Every soldier who has served for three years (the term of enlistment is still nominally five years) is entitled to a furlough of three months with the privilege of discharge at the expiration of his furlough. The result of this legislation is that last year 1,452 men secured their release, of whom only 142 subsequently reënlisted, while it appears that, without the right to buy their way out, over four thousand men during the year ending June 30, 1894, will have the right to leave the service after a furlough of three months. Thus more than one-sixth of the army will then be on furlough, for it is safe to say that every man will take advantage of this privilege, and the officers will not know until two months after the end of the furlough whether the men intend to reënlist, for under the regulation they cannot come in again until the end of that time. But the right to go out by paying for the privilege before the end of the three years' term is the more unfortunate provision in its effect on the army, for, in the first place, it tempts undesirable men to enter the service, and then assures them a quick deliverance the first time they become offended by their commanding officer or are called upon to perform any arduous or unpleasant duty. The object of this most unfortunate arrangement was to get rid of the evil of desertion; but it is a question whether, so far as its effects upon the army are concerned, the remedy is not worse than the disease. At any rate, it is the judgment of the more intelligent officers that the best way out of the difficulty is to provide a definite term of enlistment, see that the soldier knows how long he is to serve when he enters the army, and then compel him to stay until his contract is fulfilled.

It is frequently remarked by army officers that the really difficult question in the management of our army is the social status of the enlisted man. There is no doubt that it is now most undesirable. The men who try to remain in the service are not absolutely forbidden to marry (although marriage is discouraged as much as possible), and hence it occurs that there were living at the army posts last year 1,204 wives of soldiers and 2,146 children. The total number of women at army posts was 5,116 and of children 5,864. Thus it appears that one-fourth of all the women at the forts and more than one-third of all the children were the families of soldiers, between whom and the families of the officers the social lines are and must be strictly drawn. One great advantage of converting the army wholly into a military

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training establishment would be that the enlisted force would be composed entirely of unmarried men. These men would be kept constantly occupied during the term of service, and the question of their social relations to the families of the officers would not appear. Knowledge of the life of the army will warrant the assertion that this change would be a most satisfactory amelioration. No less than 316 children of enlisted men were born at army posts during the last year. The care of the families of these men is an important feature of the duties of medical officers of the army, from which they would gladly be relieved. It is needless to point out that the presence of over 1,800 married soldiers scattered among an army of a little over 20,000 men is not a desirable feature of our army life.

When we come to consider the health and the *morale* of the army, a curious light is thrown on our much-praised recruiting service by the statement that at Columbus Barracks, our principal supply-depot, the ratio for admission to the hospital for immoral disorder last year was 266.20 to one thousand men, and that on the average sixteen men were constantly disabled from this cause. The medical department of the army costs two hundred thousand dollars a year, and since it must extend to all the forts, in any event, it may not be possible to effect much of a reduction in this item of expenditure; but we may fairly assume that with the introduction of none but healthy young men of about twenty years of age and of good character for two or three years of training in the army, the ratios of disease and of the non-effectives would be reduced at least one-third, or to those of the German army.

A complete moral regeneration of our army, however, would have other highly beneficial results. The surgeon-general reports that while alcoholism in the army is decreasing, yet the admission rate per thousand for the year for this cause was 40.01. He adds: "The enormity of this habit of intemperance among our soldiers may be best appreciated by comparing our rates with the freedom from drunkenness of the British, 2.56, the Italian, 0.03, and the German army, 0.20." Look at this showing, Americans! Alcoholism in the American army as compared with the army of our beer-drinking friends, the Germans, is as 200 to 1. I see no reason why the mischiefs of alcoholism should not be entirely abolished by the proposed transformation of our army. I believe that even the army canteen or post exchange, where the soldiers now spend all their money, might safely be abolished. If young men entered the army for three years of hard

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work with the expectation of going to other occupations afterward, they would have neither time, energy, nor inclination to do anything except to sleep when not engaged in the performance of their duty. That is the life of West Point. It is the true military life. A system that permits idleness or drunkenness at an army post is vicious and wrong.

As to the methods by which the proposed reform in the army should be accomplished, it is rather surprising to find that it is hardly necessary to secure anything more than a determination on the part of the President and the Secretary of War to effect it. Some little legislation by Congress might be helpful, but it is scarcely indispensable. The term of service has been practically reduced to three years, as the adjutant-general says in his report. The Secretary of War could easily transfer all the soldiers from all the posts occupied by any one regiment to some other post, and then invite a superior class of young men to enter the service with a distinct understanding that they were to be kept free from all injurious and demoralizing associations. Regulations could be established providing that they should all be under twenty-three years of age, all unmarried and to remain so, all to serve the full term without taking advantage of the right to purchase a discharge, and all to leave the service at the end of three years. Then let the Secretary of War call a meeting in Washington of the managers of all the great railroad lines of the country and secure from them an agreement to give these young men when honorably discharged from the service of the United States a preference over all others in the service of their companies. Do they not want just such thoroughly trained young men as the army could readily turn out by the thousand according to the method here outlined? There are many details which might be dwelt upon in the elucidation of this plan, but the mere suggestion ought to be enough to secure its adoption.

The introduction of military drill and discipline into hundreds of private schools and institutions of learning during the last few years and the demand for army officers as military instructors at our principal universities and colleges (one hundred officers are now doing splendid work in this capacity) prove how rapidly the appreciation of the value of the military training for young men is extending in this country. Those who realize the enormous benefits to the life and health of the people which have been achieved in some foreign countries through universal military training may well be pardoned for

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speaking with enthusiasm of what has been accomplished there. But the United States wants no active army and no one thinks of making military service compulsory here. What we do want is the education of a sufficient number of our young men in the military life to form the nucleus of a great army in time of war, and to this result our national military system, aside from the assistance which it is giving to the State military organizations, is contributing practically nothing now. Under a system of three years' training I have shown that it is easily possible, at a cost less by several millions of dollars annually than we are now paying, to take up each year eight thousand young men from the entire country, assemble them in army posts, give them a thorough course of "setting up" and of soldierly training, and at the end of each year to send the same number back to go on with their life-work, with enhanced physical power and greatly increased capacity for living well-regulated lives and for the performance of all the duties of American citizens.

Two things I would emphasize: the great value from a national point of view of bringing during every decade at least eighty thousand men out of the narrowing and confining conditions of their daily life and making them feel that they are indeed a part of the nation whose flag they follow—the great lesson of patriotism and of American fellow-citizenship; the great value also to the officers of our army in relieving them wholly from all the disreputable and disagreeable elements of army life as they see it among the men whom they are appointed to command to-day, and bringing them vitally, closely into sympathy and relationship with the life of the people. Such an alteration of moral conditions, such a regeneration of our whole military system as would then occur, would put new life and hope and spirit into the minds and hearts of every gallant member of that military hierarchy to whom we have committed the maintenance and the transmission of military discipline and authority on this continent, the great and the indispensable, although little used, instrumentality for the assertion of the national power and the defence of the national honor of the United States of America.

EDMUND HUDSON.

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WHY THEATRICAL MANAGERS REJECT PLAYS.

THE complaint that plays, written by the hundreds who essay dramatic composition and who submit them to managers, are not read by those to whom they are sent, is a common one, and is reiterated again and again in the press. While I respond with pleasure to an editorial inquiry concerning that complaint and play-reading in general, it is only practicable, at this time, to treat the subject very briefly.

A manuscript by a non-professional writer is regarded by a manager as a kind of confidential communication. In most cases, no doubt, the work was executed under conditions of secrecy and at odd times; much midnight oil was burned over it; all knowledge of it was withheld from the closest friends; and all privacy observed, lest some authoritative domestic hand put a stop to the stolen and delightful labor of composition. It is one of the odd things about this kind of literature, which never becomes public, that distrust often hangs about it from its inception to its end in oblivion.

I would not be understood as discouraging essays in literature of any kind. Hopeless attempts in this direction are better than no attempts at all. I preface, therefore, my comments on the matter of play-reading as I have found it, with the above observations, with no invidious purpose, but to throw out the suggestion that by far the greater number of plays sent to a manager cannot be taken by him seriously. It may be readily believed that, when a manager receives five hundred works of this kind during the course of a year, it becomes impossible for him to regard them all as objects worthy of his serious consideration.

To begin with, he knows that this number of plays is out of all proportion to the number of recognized professional writers for the English-speaking stage. He knows, moreover, that there are not five hundred literary men and women in the United States, or in any other single country, who could write an equal number of plays likely to prove acceptable to the public, within a dozen years, much less in one. These are facts so obvious that it is only worth while to state them in order to emphasize the foregone conclusion that nearly all

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these five hundred plays are to be returned to their owners as absolutely useless. They are, however, all carefully examined.

Let me say at this point, parenthetically, that an active producing manager may, and does, examine in the course of a year scores of plays by successful and accredited authors without finding one that fits in with his policy, the character of his house, or the capacity of his company. Many such plays may have even met with managerial favor abroad; they may have been acted, and may have many things to recommend them, but, to the caterer for metropolitan taste, they are as useless as the aforesaid five hundred, and they share their fate. The manager, it is often said, is hard to please, which is quite true; but management is a complex affair, never understood by outside observers, and only fully comprehended by those who learn its requirements by hard experience. It must be plain, however, to even the least informed, that if the manager is hard to please it is because he serves a public which is also hard to please. If he is cautious and critical, it is because he has learned, in many contests with that worst of all enemies and best of all friends, the theatre-going public, that it is cautious also. While its demand for new plays is always pressing, it will pay only for those which afford it absolute amusement. It often will not take as amusing even those plays which a wise and cautious managerial judgment selects. It simply knows what it wants and it will pay for what it wants; it absolutely refuses to pay for anything else.

But all this pressure for new things, all this demand for a constant change in theatrical offerings, all this lavish reward bestowed upon successful theatrical effort, make even the cautious and critical manager the most industrious and painstaking of all his kind. In his search for something with which to satisfy his patrons, he uses all means, he subsidizes authors, adapters, appropriators and readers, he has agents in every foreign capital where plays are produced, and he goes on, year after year, probing the heaps of native material with which his offices are piled, hoping ever to discover the much-coveted prize. His necessities are always so great that he cannot afford to be neglectful or indifferent, and although he may have worked for years in a mine which has proved absolutely unproductive, he goes on working it, because he cannot afford to give up the possible chance of striking good ore. These are facts which I wish the carpers and the fault-finders among would-be playwrights would consider.

When I say that nearly all the manuscripts read by a manager in

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the course of a year are returned to their authors, I do not wish it to be understood that they are all hopelessly bad, or that some of them may not be useful. It is not conclusive against the merit of a play that it is rejected by the manager of a stock-theatre, or of a theatre patronized by a certain class of people. Very often it has happened, in my experience, that plays which I have felt obliged to decline to produce in my own house, have been taken, by my advice, to other houses, or have been presented to a star and have been the source of much profit to all concerned. I remember once that Bartley Campbell followed me to a summer retreat to read to me a play which he fancied would suit the old Union Square Company. After hearing it read I told him frankly that while his play had undoubtedly a great deal of money in it, provided it could be produced under proper conditions, it would be a flat failure in my house. He demurred, but took my advice and produced his play at a theatre where he found exactly the right audience for it, and it made money as I had predicted. Another American author was greatly aggrieved because I did not accept, for my stock company, a play which I told him could never succeed except as the vehicle for a star actor. Presently he found a star actor, who produced his play, and, as a consequence, he has been enjoying good emoluments from it ever since. If I had been weak enough to take his work at his own estimate of it, I should have made a failure and he would have missed all his profits.

It is not often that a play goes out of my hands without some recognition of its possibilities, if it has any, and some word of encouragement. Of course it would be impossible for me to enter into a detailed discussion with the authors of plays as to the merits and faults of their productions. In particular, would it be impossible to analyze it, or to suggest amendments and alterations, when the play is wholly bad. Even where it has some good features but requires considerable change, which, however, if made, would not fit it to my use, it would be wholly impracticable for me to take charge of its reconstruction.

It is a reasonable estimate that, since I began management, twenty-two years ago, ten thousand plays have been read and considered in my offices. I imagine that any person of good sense will be indulgent with me for not having personally read them all. I have examined great numbers of them, and, no doubt, all that possessed any merit whatever. It is part of a manager's business to read plays.

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It is however not all, nor even his chief business. If, in point of fact, he studies carefully and well the plays that are in hand for actual production, he finds his time largely occupied.

I have always employed a reader, one in whose judgment I could have implicit confidence, and whose technical knowledge should be satisfactory to those who are inclined to complain of the manager for neglecting their pieces. My reader is required to make a written report to me of each work that passes through his hands, giving a brief account of the story, and adding his estimate and comments. Sometimes these reports are very elaborate, and in many cases result in the plays being returned to the authors for revision on the lines suggested by the reader, not accompanied by a commission for the piece, but in order to give to writers the benefit of the reader's technical experience. The unconditionally favorable reports leave a number of manuscripts in my hands for personal examination. These I always read with care and with such promptness as the pressing duties of my business permit.

The question is often asked me, "What kind of a play do you want?" It is not practicable to attempt to satisfy this despairing inquiry. The only reply that can be made is, "Send in a play of any kind whatever; I will read it." I am often asked whether it is better to send the entire play, or only a scenario, the latter being suggested, I suppose, because, as it is shorter, it is more likely to be read. This very matter was taken up by Goethe when he managed the Weimar Theatre. He started out with a generous resolve to be helpful to the young dramatist, but soon tired of wading through interminable manuscripts, and finally requested that schedules of plays only be sent to him, for then he could say to a writer, "Do this, or do that," and warn him against wasting time in certain directions. Considering the fact that the playwrights with whom the American manager has to deal are mostly amateurs, I think the safest rule is to insist upon the completed play. A fairly good plot is often spoiled by bad literary or constructive workmanship, and a feeble plot is often enlivened by good character-drawing and excellent dialogue. The only way to judge fairly of the work of such authors, therefore, is to see it when it is in its completed state. I find that, year by year, the number of dramas sent in to me varies but little, except by way of gradual increase.

Indeed, the amount of amateur playwriting in this country is simply astounding. If this work were confined to one class of

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persons or to those who had been for a long time engaged in the pursuit, it would not be so remarkable. But each year brings its crop of new playwrights. The rejected and the disheartened drop out. We never hear of them or from them again. But their places are filled by fresh aspirants and the stream is constantly kept full. An idea of the fecundity of the amateur American playwright may be gained from the fact that when the "Herald" offered a prize two years ago for a one-act play there were nearly six hundred competitors! One shudders to think what an amount of misdirected effort and of blasted hopes this statement reveals.

Plays come to me from all parts of the country. A lonely Captain or Lieutenant at some frontier post will set down his idyl and commit it to the express office. A man about town with ample time on his hands, a literary taste, and abundant means, maps out the vagaries of his fancy, and some day it arrives, perhaps handsomely bound in vellum. The schoolgirl, the lawyer, men and women of all grades in life, write plays. One encounters some exceedingly curious phases of infatuation in these writers. The commonest is that the reader or the manager will appropriate some idea or situation which the author imagines to be particularly new and striking. This alarm is however entirely without foundation. If an idea or a situation of great strength should exist, it would be almost sure to belong to a work correspondingly good in all its parts, and the author would have its merit pointed out to him, or he would receive an offer for his play. Good ideas and situations are so rare in plays, nowadays, that the manager would not dare to hold them by an uncertain tenure. From motives of self-interest, if for no other, he would buy them.

There are innumerable reasons why plays are rejected.

There is a great difference between a readable play, interesting and well written, and even a fairly good acting play. It is almost impossible for a man unacquainted with the stage to write a play of the latter class. He may have excellent sense—his material may be good enough, he may have labored with great zeal on it, his friends may have applauded it, and its acceptance may seem very promising; but, when it reaches the very cautious persons who have to consider it as a thing in which money is to be invested, it is judged from an entirely different point of view. If even it affords them pleasure in the reading, that is not always a criterion of judgment by which to measure the effect it would have on an audience, when acted.

It is difficult to point out the faults most commonly prevailing in

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the works by amateur playwrights submitted to me. A prominent fault, however, is the absence of originality. The writers generally appear to have had in their heads reminiscences of old plays and, unconsciously of course, to have reproduced them. It is safe to say in regard to at least sixty per cent of all the amateur plays passing through my office, that my reader can point out the sources from which most of the situations and even some of the dialogue were obtained. The power of inventing reasonable and probable plots and of arriving at strong situations by logical means seems to be denied to most of these writers. A strong situation is nothing—or next to nothing—unless the circumstances which lead up to it, are natural, harmonious and inevitable; but if, perchance, we find among the plays under consideration an act or a scene with a situation in it strong in itself, all the antecedent events are so artificially contrived that the situation becomes weakened even to uselessness. Another fault is one arising from lack of knowledge as to the limitations of the stage on the part of the writers, resulting in characters and scenes impossible of portrayal. Young writers especially, ambitious to do something new and striking, are prone to reach out so far for their effects that they overstep all stage possibilities. They seem never to have known or else to have forgotten that all the greatest and truest plays in our language are simple and direct, with no straining after effect and no tortuous plots; and they almost invariably base their works on models very far beneath the great and the true in the literature of the English stage. In many cases the technical work on the play is very faulty. The divisions into scenes and acts are wholly without method or right knowledge. Some plays are too short properly to develop the story undertaken to be told, and others drag out through several unnecessarily long acts a story that could be more advantageously told in one.

In the above remarks, I have referred, of course, only to plays which, from their literary quality, are entitled to respectful consideration. Behind these are numberless plays which deserve no consideration and receive none beyond the cursory glances through their pages which reveal to the experienced eye their quality. Such plays are written in wretched English, have no proper form, and contain, in point of fact, no idea upon which an intelligent mind could dwell for a moment with patience. Their name is legion and their authors are the bane of the manager.

I am often asked whether in my opinion we shall ever develop a

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large class of playwrights capable of supplying our stage with good American plays. A few years ago I feared we should not do this, in our generation at least, but, in our country, progress is extraordinarily rapid, and the last two or three years have developed some facts in connection with this matter as surprising as they are gratifying to me.

Several of our young dramatists who were, five years ago, floundering in the experimental stage and doing work which, while it promised something, actually performed little, have, since that time, brought forth some good plays with characters in them genuinely American, moved by American motives, using decent American language and living in a true American atmosphere. These plays are as yet few in number, but they reveal talent in the writers, and also, what is still more valuable to the cause of American playwrights, they reveal the existence of good dramatic types and of strong dramatic conditions in our own home circles. The prominent evil tendency of the American writer has been to look for his types among his countrymen of the baser sort, who never by any possibility pronounce English words properly and who seem to take the greatest pains to speak slang and utter vulgarisms and to act as if good manners were a reproach instead of an accomplishment.

It is true that the plays in which these characters appear often have an underlying poetic sentiment and even a strong dramatic force in some of their incidents, but they are a weariness and a vexation to those who believe that it is not un-American to speak correctly and to behave decently. Let our young writers, and our older ones too, for that matter, abandon for a while the men and women who talk through their noses, the *habitants* of the realistic New England kitchens, and of the realistic, but not always agreeable New England hencoops and barns, the precocious children who talk baseball slang and "sass" their parents, and the thousand and one *outré* and (to the refined mind) disagreeable characters and things with which the "American" play is generally crowded, and give us in their places the gentle, the strong, the correctly-talking and the correctly-behaving characters of which surely our American life furnishes numberless types.

As a reader, a buyer and a producer of plays, I would then with Francisco exclaim—and I sincerely believe a large portion of the public would also exclaim—

"For this relief much thanks."

A. M. PALMER.

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AMERICAN ART SUPREME IN COLORED GLASS.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR, it is said, would not visit America because there was no stained-glass to be seen here. Since the eccentric Englishman made this remark, great changes have taken place, and to-day this country unquestionably leads the world in the production of colored glass windows of artistic value and decorative importance. The truth of this statement is not perhaps fully recognized even by our own people, for you will look in vain in the great "White City" on the shores of Lake Michigan for a department in the Exposition devoted exclusively to exhibiting the results of the development in this particular art. This is the more to be regretted as in a new art such as this exhibitions are of great use; the artist comes face to face with his fellow-artists, and patrons are better able to judge of the merits of the work of each. Moreover, an intelligent exhibition would have aided greatly in crushing out the purely commercial spirit which too often invades this field, while the American people as well as European visitors of taste and discernment would have been aroused to the important strides made in this direction.

If there is any one art which has been developed here and has received the stamp of American genius, it is that of making ornamental and figure windows in colored glass. While the art had never been lost, it had certainly fallen into decay; and in reviving old motives we have no doubt discovered new possibilities in methods and materials. Indeed, the very earliest recorded attempt at using colored glass in combinations for filling window-openings—made by Singhalese artists in about 306 B. C.—proceeded upon the true mosaic principle to which we have returned—the arrangement in juxtaposition of small gem-like pieces of glass having all the brilliancy and depth of color that are found in precious stones. This window probably found its most notable development in the windows of the cathedral of Byzantium, the Sancta Sophia, at Constantinople. From that time until the introduction of Gothic architecture little progress was made, but Gothic architecture offered large window-openings which, in the very nature of the case, called for a filling that would

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transmit the light and at the same time keep out the weather. As the windows were large the wall-surfaces were correspondingly small; therefore the artist was compelled to use these openings for his polychromatic effects, and employed the only medium known to him and to us, *viz.*, glass.

The Gothic artist, like the earlier Singhalese artist, started in the right manner, and so long as the principal decorative object of his windows was confined to beauty of color or combinations of color, his windows were gem-like and beautiful; and they are interesting even to-day to all who have a well-developed color-sense. But perfection was reached in the medallion windows of the thirteenth century. The glass employed at this time was pot-metal, a kind in which the color permeates the entire mass. It was made in unequal thicknesses and was filled with bubbles and other imperfections which added greatly to its brilliancy by affording many points against which the sun's rays were broken. Its unequal thickness gave the quality of light and shade without thinness or opacity. The pieces of glass were small and were put together with large, broad, generous leads. These leads aided materially in setting off the glass itself, and color-effect was the one aim an artist of the period had in view. Later, more attention was paid to the drawing of the figures and the form of the ornaments, but unfortunately at the expense of the color. The introduction of yellow stains in glass by means of chemicals had a marked and unfortunate influence. The eighteenth century saw the death of the art.

The important part played by Americans is in the skilful development of the mosaic motive, a motive largely ignored at the time of the revival of the art in Europe in the first quarter of the present century. The European pioneers in that revival chose for their models or examples not the earliest glass, but the glass of the fourteenth century. Consequently the development of the revival among Europeans has been almost or entirely in the line of painted glass. The mosaic motive has not influenced them to any great extent. The reason of their mistake was obviously that colored glass windows were called into being once again by the demands of church architecture, which revived with the revival of faith and demanded a picture-window which inculcated through the subject represented some tenet of faith. Color was only the second consideration.

It was left for American artists to supply anew this first requisite; and right here attention may be called to the influence of our national

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character in its development. Those of us in America who began to experiment in glass were untrammelled by tradition, and were moved solely by a desire to produce a thing of beauty, irrespective of any rule, doctrine, or theory beyond that governing good taste and true artistic judgment. At first very little attention was paid to mere form. Color, and color only, was the end sought. Hence the first efforts were largely confined to increasing the field of color and producing glass that had gem-like qualities. The first requisite was obtained through the aid of modern chemistry, the last by chipping the glass in such a way as to give irregular faceted surfaces, until a material was obtained which rivalled the painter's palette in its range of tones and eclipsed the iridescence and brilliancy found in the Roman and Egyptian glass. Our marked advance, however, was in the employment of opalescent glass of varying density, semi-transparency, and translucency. It is true that this glass had been used before in window-work, but not to any great extent. The American artist has used it in such a way as almost to revolutionize the art.

The American development of the art, or the American method of making colored glass windows, is of course still in its infancy. If there is one point of superiority in the work done by the artists of the Middle Ages, it is in their wonderful knowledge of the proper distribution of color. Yet I maintain that the best American colored windows are superior to the best mediæval windows. It may be interesting to show how new devices have been invented and old ones adapted to meet present conditions. For instance: Colored glass as an artistic medium has been at all times a most difficult material to work with, as in the main it is unyielding and fixed in form and color, when once it has left the furnace. The American artist, to overcome this, has resorted to plating one piece of glass over another; so that when in one sheet of glass we may find form and movement which is demanded by the sketch and cartoon but which has not the color sought, we secure the color by plating over or under the glass, as the case may be, another glass of a different color or of another tone of the same color, which in combination give the effect desired. As glazing in oil-painting is useful, just so is plating in the making of glass windows to obtain the same result. There are, however, many reasons why it should be avoided, if possible.

Much of the beauty and sparkle of the mediæval windows, again, is the result of time. The principal factor in this enhancer of the beauty (but destroyer) of the glass is the accumulation of dust on the

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outer edge of the glass next to the lead lines. This dust, acted upon by moisture, becomes a corrosive and eats the outer surface of each piece, leaving the centre almost intact. In other words, the glass is smooth in the centre and rougher at the edge; hence the tone of color is greater in the centre, making each piece of glass look very much thicker. The American artist, knowing this fact, has attempted to produce, artificially, glass which will give the same effect; and this has proved entirely successful. To cite a third instance: In the windows of the Middle Ages the folds in the draperies were obtained by placing pieces of glass of the same color but of various shades one against the other side by side, or by painting the shadows upon a sheet of glass with a brown enamel. In the one case the window is filled with innumerable leadings, and in the other translucency is more or less destroyed, as all smears and enamels are more or less opaque, depending altogether on the depth of the shadow. In America we now make a glass which gives the effect of light and shade in draperies without using so many lead-lines, and doing away altogether with paints and enamels. This glass is a pot-metal forced into folds and wrinkles while in a molten condition—folds which are adapted to almost all forms of drapery.

The effect of all this in stimulating the progress of the art in America is important. In consequence of the advance made in respect to the color and variety of the glass at our command, we are enabled to attain effects and beauties that we may believe were never even dreamed of in the past. In the windows of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, for example, the foliage and colors were produced largely by means of stains and enamels; in this country we produce foliage by introducing into a sheet of glass while molten other pieces of glass of the proper colors, having stems, leaf and flower forms. The change, at the same time, requires the modern artist to follow his window from its conception to its completion. Indeed, he is often compelled to superintend and direct the making of the glass itself which he proposes to use, and, the glass once obtained, he must stand by the glazier and superintend the selection, cutting and arrangement as the window is slowly built up. In other words, in the American system the glass window under the hand of the artist is like the picture on the canvas. Changes and modifications are as much a part of his work as of that of the painter.

It has been said by some that this distinctively American method is foreign to glass; that it belongs to the painter, the mural decorator.

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This view I hold to be erroneous. True art is ever progressive and impatient of fixed rules. Because a thing has always been done in a certain way is no reason why it should never be done in any other. As a matter of fact, one can get in glass effects one can never obtain with pigments, such as a nearer approach to the brilliant and peculiar subtile color of the sky itself. In some American windows the illusion has been so perfect that the spectators believed they were looking at the actual sky behind the figures and not upon a sky made of glass. We have also succeeded in making great advances in the use of leads. The increased size and strength of the sheets of glass have done away with much of the leading. Then again we have resorted entirely to novel methods of reinforcing the leads. So the artist is able to use leads not merely for the construction of his windows, but as an artistic element in the work. With them he can emphasize the drawing and deepen the shadows, and he has multiplied the forms of the leads over those used in the Middle Ages or by European imitators of mediæval work.

Paint is almost unused in the best American windows, except for flesh, hands, faces, and so on; and that there may be as little paint as possible special glass has been manufactured, carrying within its substance the tones and colors found in the human countenance, so that all the painting the artist needs to put on the glass is just that sufficient to indicate the physiognomy or the outline of the features. Even where paint is necessary, the American artist has never felt himself bound to any fixed rule for its use, but has employed whatever style of glass-painting he thought was best for the particular window on which he was working.

The prospective importance of this revived art is not to be overestimated. Ecclesiastical architecture in the United States has so far received only its first notable impulse, and American life and American taste are sure to dictate the employment of the best resources of the highest art in the construction of future church edifices. In all religious denominations, the desire for beauty is everywhere uppermost, and the time is clearly approaching when religious sects that heretofore have disregarded the value of the æsthetic element in connection with religion will adorn their houses of worship with glass windows portraying scriptural scenes and symbolizing their most cherished dogmas. Aside from the churches, growing towns all over the land are demanding the erection of public or semi-public buildings, such as libraries, meeting-halls, and museums, and the archi-

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tects of these are calling for colored glass windows in which the arts or the sciences are personified. Domestic architecture, again, is in the course of a similar inspiring development. Thus it is plainly to be seen by all observers that the field of this particular branch of the decorative arts is not only already large, but has a most promising future and opens to young artists a career that points to success.

I have no hesitation in saying that no artistic occupation to-day offers greater advantages to the artist-artisan, and I sincerely hope that some of our efficient art-students will drift into this field. It will not, I suppose, be seriously questioned that the requisite intelligence already exists here in abundance, needing only the proper training. Our art schools, it is true, are not on a par with those of Paris; yet in one way they are superior to them, in so far as little attempt is made to force students into one narrow line of purely academic training. Our students are in one sense experimenters, and hence are all peculiarly fitted to enter a field of art which even now is largely experimental. In order to fit them to become workers in glass they need no particular training beyond that required to fit them to become painters, the same general principles holding good in both branches.

A brief recital of the history of a window will make this clear. The form and shape of the window having been chosen, the artist prepares his color sketch in order to get his composition for the cartoon and the scheme of color for the glass. From this sketch a full-sized cartoon is made, the figures in which should be studied carefully from life. When the cartoon is completed, two transfers are made on paper just as an embroideress makes a transfer from her pattern to the linen. One of these transfers is kept as a guide for the artist who leads the glass together; the other is divided into patterns, the divisions following the places of the lead lines as the cartoon indicates. These divided pieces are then arranged upon a glass easel, which is placed against the light. The artist, having previously selected the glass required or caused it to be made under his supervision, chooses a piece of glass for, we will say, the sleeve of a garment, first removing from the easel the paper pattern, so that he may pass the glass between himself and the light over the opening left by the removal of the paper. Having found the proper piece the glazier marks that portion of the sheet that is to be cut, places the paper pattern upon it, following the edges with a diamond and thereby cutting the glass to the form desired. When this piece of glass cor-

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responds exactly with the template, it is placed upon the glass easel and held in position with wax, taking the place of the paper pattern. This is continued until the entire window is cut and placed upon the easel. From time to time the artist may see reason to modify or change from the original color scheme or even from the drawing in the cartoon as he may find pieces of glass which give better effects in his judgment than that indicated in either the sketch or the cartoon. At times also, as I have said before, he may resort to plating to secure a particular shade or tint.

All this by no means implies that the work is one for a mere artisan. An American window cannot be left in the hands of an artisan if the desire is to produce a successful work of art. I use this word "artisan" advisedly, because for the mere mechanic there is no place in the art. A hundred little details at all stages of the production require the constant attention of the artist, and in order that he may be understood the artisan must be in sympathy with him. So true is this that of late this field has been opened to women possessing more or less of an artistic training, with the expectation that with their manual dexterity, acquired in learning to draw, and their natural color-grasp, they would produce better results than men. How true this is I am not prepared to say, as the trial is still in embryo. One or two points, however, are very clear to my mind. The women who have come immediately under my supervision are more ready to grasp the color-motive sought by the artist than men are. They seem to possess a more refined appreciation of the subtile differences between tone and tone and at the same time greater taste in their combination; while on the other hand the men show better appreciation of form and grasp the *ensemble* more perfectly. In another department of the glass-maker's art women seem to acquire proficiency with greater readiness than men—that is, in the knack of using the diamond in cutting glass; but on the other hand, they are less patient and are more apt to tire where there is a sameness of pattern or where the work in other ways becomes monotonous.

To every careful observer, it is evident that the glazier's art has come to stay, that its lines of development among us are legitimate, artistic and full of promise, that if, in the past, the greatest triumphs of the art were called forth by architecture and the faith which made that architecture possible, the same conditions are being rapidly evolved to-day. But in addition to this there are greater numbers of people nowadays who love art for art's sake, and it is my belief

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that this motive is greater and will bring forth better results than have ever been obtained by that which inspired the artists of the Middle Ages. That our knowledge of glass is greater than that of the past cannot be denied. Our range of color is far in excess of the palette of the thirteenth century. The mechanical contrivances that are used in the construction of windows and in preparing the leads are greater in number than those at the command of the mediæval glazier. This, together with the skill of hand acquired through the rigid training of our modern art schools, places us in such a position that if we do not make better windows than we ever have made, it will only be because the public are not yet ready to receive them.

LOUIS C. TIFFANY.

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THE RUSSIAN EXTRADITION TREATY.

If I were asked to point out one of the clearest evidences of the progress of nations towards a perception of their mutual duties and mutual interests, I should not hesitate to specify the vast expansion in recent times of the system of extradition. Almost three centuries ago one of the founders of the science of international law, the illustrious Grotius, in a work which lighted nations along the pathway of progress from medieval barbarism to modern civilization, inculcated the duty of delivering up fugitives from justice. From that time to the present enlightened publicists and progressive statesmen have recognized the general interest of nations in the repression of crime, and have advocated reciprocal action for the accomplishment of that end. In place of the ancient conception of asylum as a right belonging to the fugitive—a conception which originated in times when the punishment of crime was identified with the right of private vengeance—there has at last been established the right of the state either to extradite or to expel any offender who comes within the jurisdiction. This right is recognized to-day in the legislation and the practice of every civilized state, and in none more fully than in the statutes, the treaties and the judicial decisions of the United States;[1] and while there may be no absolute obligation to deliver up fugitives from justice in the absence of a treaty, a question as to which publicists are divided, extradition has become one of the ordinary incidents of international intercourse, and a nation which refused both to surrender such fugitives and to enter into treaties for that purpose would become an object of general aversion and would be the recipient of impressive remonstrances.

Nor could the case be otherwise. If any one should suggest to the readers of The Forum that it would be compatible with social order, and with the security of life and property, to facilitate and encourage the escape of violators of the law from criminal prosecution, they would think either that he had been imbibing the doctrines of

[1] Ker *v.* Illinois, 119 U. S., 463; In re Giacomo, 12 Blatchford C.C., 391.

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anarchy or that he was jesting. When Mr. Webster inserted in our treaty with Great Britain of 1842 a provision for the surrender of fugitive criminals he declared that it was "an act due to the cause of general justice, and properly belonging to the present state of civilization and intercourse." To the United States, however, the subject was of special importance. As a member of the family of nations, we had a duty to perform to society in general, in refusing to shield criminals from punishment for their crimes. But apart from that high consideration it was felt to be a matter of self-interest, not only to obtain the extradition of our own fugitive offenders, but also to prevent our territory, as that of a great immigrant-receiving nation, from being made a general receptacle of the criminal classes of all other countries. As experience has demonstrated the wisdom of the policy announced by Mr. Webster, it has been broadened by his successors until we now have in force upwards of thirty extradition treaties, while the number is steadily increasing and the category of extraditable crimes is constantly expanding.

Meanwhile the system of extradition has everywhere gone on expanding. While improved facilities of travel, vast movements of population, and ease of flight have greatly enhanced the importance of the system, the results of its operation have completely discredited the direful prophecies of its adversaries. In the fullest sense it may be said that its history is its vindication.

These considerations at least justify us in being on our guard against sudden alarms on the subject of extradition; and they warn if they do not require us to receive with caution such excited appeals to the apprehensions as have lately been made concerning the Extradition Treaty with Russia. Such a treaty, we are told, is in any point of view useless. It is argued that in order to enter Russia a foreigner must have a passport, and that criminals will not take the precaution to obtain such a document. Yet, it is well known that with or without passports criminals do take refuge in Russia as well as in other countries in which the same requirement exists; and it is also known that more than eight hundred thousand foreigners enter Russia every year, principally along the Western frontier. We are assured that Russia is an unattractive country to live in. Nevertheless, from 1871 to 1885 a million-and-a-quarter of foreigners, principally Germans and Austrians, settled there, and a fugitive criminal, though he were fastidious, might prefer safety from extradition to comfort. But the uselessness of the treaty is finally demon-

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strated by the fact that from 1842 to 1890 we presented no request for extradition to Russia, while Russia presented only two such requests to the United States, both of which were refused. Quite true. It has been held by a long line of authorities that the President of the United States is not authorized to extradite criminals in the absence of a treaty; and as we are thus precluded from promising reciprocity, we have made it a rule not to ask for extradition in the absence of a treaty. We find, therefore, that, except in two cases, (and even in these no actual request was made), the United States from 1842 to 1890 preferred no request for extradition to any of the governments with which we now have extradition treaties, prior to the conclusion of a treaty. This fact has been supposed to be one of the reasons why extradition treaties should be negotiated.

Judge Gresham is reported to have said that most of the indignation lavished on the Russian treaty has been directed at purely imaginary evils. The "imaginary evils" to which the Secretary of State refers, I shall endeavor to explain by a detailed examination of them.[1]

1. The clause concerning which the agitation began is that which provides that an attempt against the life of the head of either government, or of any member of his family, when such attempt comprises the act either of murder or assassination, or of poisoning, shall not be considered a political offence, or an act connected with such an offence. This clause is found in our treaties with Belgium and Luxemburg, and follows the provision expressly exempting political offenders from extradition—a provision usually inserted in extradition treaties, though, like the succeeding clause, it is declaratory of a principle accepted by the civilized world. On this subject I shall have something to say hereafter. But, as soon as the existence of the clause in the Russian treaty became known, there appeared appalling lists of acts which it was said might constructively be considered under the Russian code as attempts against the life of the Czar. On the 17th of March the Department of State attracted attention to the immemorial rule that in order to obtain the extradition of an offender from the United States it is necessary to prove a treaty crime according to our own law. In other words, that it would be necessary

[1] Most of the objections to the treaty were made before the official text was published and were based mainly on the press despatch of April 23. The language of this press despatch is, so far as it goes, identical with the official text.

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under the provision in question to prove according to our own law an attempt to murder or assassinate, or to poison.[1]

2. After the first objection was thus disposed of it was suddenly discovered that there was a clause in the treaty which would have the effect, if it was not devised for the very purpose, of securing the extradition of political offenders by indirection. The clause referred to is as follows: "The crime of forgery, by which is understood the utterance of forged papers, and also counterfeiting of public, sovereign or governmental acts." As given in the press despatch of April 23 the exact language is: "Forgery and the utterance of forged papers, including public, sovereign, or governmental acts." The scope is precisely the same—the language more exact.

It was charged that under this provision extradition could be obtained of a political offender who used a false passport to escape from Russia; and ground for the insinuation that such was the intention of the clause was found in the assertion that in some of our treaties, including that with Great Britain, the forging or counterfeiting of governmental acts is not extraditable, and that in all our later treaties in which the crime of forging governmental acts is inserted, including that with the Netherlands, it is restricted to the obtaining of money unlawfully. Let us examine the facts.

There is none of our extradition treaties under which the surrender of fugitives for forging or counterfeiting governmental acts may not be obtained, for the simple reason that they all include the crime of forgery. From the earliest days of the English common law, it has been held that forgery of governmental acts is indictable, and the forging or counterfeiting of such acts has been held to be forgery under our treaties. Nor is it true that our later treaties when

[1] As published in the press despatch on April 23, the exact language of the clause is as follows:—

"Art. III. . . . An attempt against the life of the head of either Government, or against that of any member of his family, when such attempt comprises the act either of murder or assassination or of poisoning, or of accessoryship thereto, shall not be considered a political offence, or an act connected with such an offence."

It has been said that the provision as to accessoryship is an enlargement of the clause in the treaties with Belgium and Luxemburg. This, however, is an error. Those treaties by a general clause in their first article require the surrender of persons charged with crime either "as principals or accessories." By the Russian treaty, according to the despatch above quoted, accessoryship is by Article II. expressly restricted to accessoryship *before the fact*—a very material limitation the importance of which those familiar with criminal law will readily appreciate.

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they specify the forging or counterfeiting of governmental acts limit the crime to obtaining money unlawfully, which would be a restriction on the crime of forgery at common law. The same provision as that in the treaty with Russia is found in our treaty with Italy, of 1868; with Salvador, of 1870; with Turkey, of 1874; with Belgium, of 1882, and with Luxemburg, of 1883. In addition to these the treaty with Nicaragua, of 1870, specifies "counterfeiting of seals, dies, stamps, and marks of State and public administrations, and the utterance thereof"; that with Ecuador, of 1873, "the wilful use or circulation of forged papers or public documents"; that with Spain, of 1877, "the forgery or falsification of the official acts of the government or public authority"; that with the Netherlands, of 1887, "the counterfeiting, falsifying or altering the seals of State" (a passport is an instrument under a seal of State); that with Sweden, of 1893, "the forgery or falsification of official acts of government."

Now, in all soberness, what would be thought of the capacity of a Secretary of State who should exclude from an extradition treaty the forging or counterfeiting of public, sovereign or governmental acts? Is it not simply to deny the right of government to exist, to say that its acts may be forged and counterfeited with impunity? Surely a case must be desperate which requires the support of such an argument.

But it is said that a political offender who forges a passport as a means of escape may be demanded and delivered up for the forgery so committed, and that in this way the extradition of political offenders may be obtained indirectly. The law is precisely the reverse. The treaties themselves uniformly place in the same category political offences and acts "connected with" such offences. Nothing is better settled than the principle that when an offence is incidental to, or connected with a political offence it partakes of the character of the principal act and does not afford a basis for extradition. Precisely this point was decided by the Governor of New York, in 1837, in the case of the Canadian rebel, William Lyon McKenzie; by Turkey, in 1849, in the case of Kossuth; and by the Court of Queen's Bench in England, in 1890, in the case of the Swiss insurgent, Castioni. The charges against McKenzie, who had been in rebellion against the government, were murder, arson, and robbery. The alleged murder was the shooting by sentries of a man who was crossing the military lines; the alleged arson was the burning of a dwelling in the course of hostilities; the alleged robbery was the tak-

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ing of some mail-bags from the driver of a mail-coach. The Governor of New York refused to extradite him. Kossuth was charged with the "larceny" of the crown jewels of Hungary, while in rebellion against the government of Austria. Turkey refused to give him up. In both these cases it was held that the alleged crimes, being incidents of the political offences of the actors, did not afford a ground for extradition. This is common sense as well as common law. Of the case of Castioni, I shall have something to say hereafter.

Apart, however, from the alleged political aspect of the forgery clause, it is objected that a person who forged a passport in order to emigrate without consent would be chargeable with an extradition offence. It is obvious that this objection is based on the theory that it is an inherent right of man to change his home absolutely at will, and that the United States ought to treat unauthorized emigration as analogous to a political offence. Unfortunately for the theory, it is denied in the legislation both of the United States and of Europe; and, unfortunately for the argument, it applies to our extradition treaties generally. Emigration is but the beginning of the migratory act which ends in immigration. The governments of Europe, certainly of Continental Europe, almost without exception limit the right of their subjects to emigrate. This is the necessary result of the military system under which they now labor. No one contests their right to impose such a limitation, and in some of our treaties, as in that with Russia of 1832, we have explicitly recognized it. On the other hand, no government has more positively denied the right of free and voluntary migration than the United States. Not only do we exclude the Chinese and forbid them to be naturalized, but we also assert the right to limit other immigration in accordance with our own views of public policy. We should, therefore, hardly be justified in excluding forgery from our extradition treaties because perchance it might affect a person who forged a passport in order to emigrate; and even if we were willing to stultify ourselves by assuming such a position, no government would negotiate with us on such a basis. The question, however, is hardly a practical one. During the years 1886–1888 the departures of Russians from Russia averaged annually more than 450,000. Of these a yearly average of about 45,000 appear to have been emigrants; the rest returned. We are not now troubled about Europe's restrictions on emigration.

3. But it is said that heretofore the United States has negotiated

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extradition treaties only with constitutional governments, or with governments whose system of administering justice is similar to our own. "No civilized country," says Stepniak, in an open letter to the President against the treaty with Russia, "extradites criminals to China or Turkey, where the judicial proceedings are entirely barbarous." If this be true, there must be some foundation for the impression of the French journal which not long ago classed "The Yankee and the Cossack" together as "two new and pitiless peoples." I have already referred to our treaty with Turkey which was concluded in 1874, and which embraced more than twice as many crimes as our treaty with Great Britain of 1842. Great Britain since 1858 has had a general treaty stipulation with China for the extradition of Chinese criminals seeking asylum in the British colony of Hong Kong. We have an extradition treaty with Japan; and while the administration of justice in Japan may be superior to that in Turkey, in neither country do we submit our citizens to the local law. We also have extradition treaties with Hayti and San Domingo. In some respects the most liberal of all our extradition treaties is that with Mexico, where there is no trial by jury.

Now, on what principle are these treaties based? Simply on that expressed by a great American jurist: "No government is perfect, and some governments are simply terrible, but the worst of all is immeasurably better than none." Should a people, because they live under a government which does not meet with our approval, be deprived of protection of life and property? Should assassins, robbers, forgers, burglars and embezzlers be shielded from trial and punishment in their own country, under the laws which they have violated? Has it been found that persons who commit such crimes in countries whose governments are, in our opinion, undesirable, are of a milder type than our own criminals, and that it comports with our safety to give them asylum? By our statutes our immigration authorities are already required to return to the country from which they came all non-political convicts; and whether a Russian convict should be returned, on the vessel that brought him to the United States, directly to Russia or to some other European country would matter little, since in the latter case he would almost surely fall under the operation of Russia's extradition treaties. It can scarcely be argued that the judicial proceedings of a country are of such a character as to forbid the return to it of persons who are to be tried, but not of those who have been convicted.

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But, in Russia, in spite of what seems to be a prevalent impression, they have a regular administration of justice. Stepniak will hardly be charged with partiality to Russia, but, in the letter already quoted, he says: "Russia is not Turkey or China. She has regular courts of justice, with jurors and publicity of proceedings. But these courts are reserved exclusively for common, non-political offences."[1] Even the death penalty he tells us is abolished in Russia for common crimes. Though her criminal code is modelled on the codes of Western Europe, Sir Mackenzie Wallace tells us that her juries are given to acquitting guilty persons where the offence charged does not in their estimation of its morality deserve the penalty prescribed for it. Foreigners in her dominions are subject to her laws. Her consuls in our ports exercise to the usual extent judicial authority, and since 1832 we have surrendered deserters from her ships of war and merchant vessels.

Stepniak, however, does not advert to the fact that the jury system has not been extended in Russia to the provinces of Poland, Olonitz, Siberia, Vologda, Astrakan, Ufa and Orenburg. But, while these provinces, as we are informed, comprise seven-eighths of the territory of the empire, they contain only one-seventh of the population; and if we except Poland, which has a judicial system of its own, composed of justices elected by the local assemblies, justices of the peace appointed by the government, district tribunals or assizes, and the Warsaw Court of Appeal and Cassation, the provinces in question contain only one-twelfth of the population.

Nevertheless, trial by jury has never been made a condition of extradition. It is "not within the competence of one independent power," said a great American Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, "to reform the jurisprudence of another." All that a government can require even for its own citizens, said that eminent

[1] In one place Stepniak says that "with the exception of Vera Zassulitch, the girl who in 1877 attempted the life of Gen. Trepoff, and was acquitted by the jury, which admitted exceptional provocations, no offence committed from any political motive has been submitted in Russia to a jury." Yet, in another place, in the same paper, he says: "In 1873 Sergius Netchaeff was extradited by the Swiss government on the charge of murder; and in 1884 Leo Deutch was extradited by one of the German principalities on the charge of an attempt at murder, committed in the course of political conspiracies. In both these cases the Russian government formally pledged itself to treat the extradited men as non-political offenders. In fact both were tried by regular tribunals before juries, and were condemned according to the Criminal Code, Netchaeff to twenty years' penal servitude for the murder of a spy and Deutch to eight years for an attempt to murder another spy."

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statesman, is, that when they are prosecuted in a foreign country for offences there committed, such country shall "give them the full and fair benefit of her system, such as it is, and deal with them as she does with her own subjects or those of other foreign powers." Nor is trial by jury secured by our own laws to American citizens in all cases. In the various countries in which we exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction, such as China, Turkey, Japan and Corea, American citizens may be convicted and sentenced in our consular courts, according to the methods prescribed by our laws, without presentment by a grand jury or trial by a petit jury. In permitting this to be done, our Government has simply acted on the conditions with which it was confronted.

It is doubtless true that in Russia extraordinary tribunals have from time to time been created, under what is known as the "state of siege," a procedure not original with Russia, but derived from the laws of other countries. In the United States martial law, to which the state of siege is analogous, may, as the Supreme Court has held, be proclaimed only in time of war and of actual invasion, when the ordinary courts cannot be kept open. This limitation, however, is based on our own Constitution. The state of siege is not so restricted; it may be proclaimed on broader considerations of the public safety and not in time of war. It does not supplant the ordinary courts, but reserves to the extraordinary tribunals special classes of crimes —chiefly those described in foreign codes as offences against the safety of the state, and against public peace and order in the stricter sense—to be tried under martial law. I venture to say that there is scarcely a country on the American continents south of the Rio Grande in which the state of siege has not been proclaimed once or oftener in the last twenty years. The case is the same with Cuba. For seven years after the Franco-Prussian war various Departments of France were under a state of siege for the suppression of acts of communial insurrection and the surveillance of the press. Even in the country from which we derive our ideas of constitutional liberty, we have again and again in recent times seen a political division placed in a virtual state of siege by means of acts of coercion; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended; scores of men imprisoned on suspicion, and an extraordinary law enforced by extraordinary methods.

Special laws and special tribunals, however, extradition does not recognize. We extradite for common crimes under the common law,

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to be tried by the ordinary tribunals. This principle is fundamental in extradition proceedings and is written in all extradition treaties. It is precisely what is meant when we say that a certain act "shall not be considered a political offence." The very enumeration of specific offences under the common law, especially when it is connected with the stipulation, now inserted in all our extradition treaties, that a fugitive shall not be tried for an offence other than that for which he was given up, as clearly excludes a trial before an extraordinary tribunal under martial law as would a dozen pages of explanation.

4. I shall now consider the alleged political aspect of the clause in the Russian treaty relative to the assassination of the head of either government or of a member of his family. If it can be shown that assassination is excluded from the category of political offences, the clause in question, by its specification of that exception, tends to protect political offenders against extradition rather than to subject them to it. The government of the United States has always maintained the principle that political offenders are not to be given up; and if assassins are to be treated as political offenders, it is somewhat remarkable that we have been ten years in discovering a violation of that principle in our treaties with Belgium and Luxemburg. But I shall show that at the present day assassins are with the concurrence of the civilized world denied the benefit of the exemption accorded to political offenders in matters of extradition; and in order to avoid all appearance of irrelevancy I shall select the evidences of that concurrence chiefly with reference to the adherents of the policy of assassination in Russia.

Most of the governments of Europe have either in some or in all of their later treaties of extradition inserted, after the provision exempting political offenders from surrender, a clause substantially the same as that now under consideration in our treaty with Russia. It may be found in the treaties of France, Germany and the German States, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Portugal, and Sweden and Norway. It is in the treaties of Russia with Austria-Hungary, Bavaria, Belgium, Luxemburg, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Hesse-Darmstadt, Monaco, Prussia and the German Empire. It is not, so far as I am informed, in any of the treaties of Italy, but it is well known that the Italian government on the assassination of Lincoln intimated its readiness to deliver up John H. Surratt, who was charged with complicity in that crime, if he should be found in the royal dominions. He was subsequently found in Alexandria, and was delivered up by the Egyptian authori-

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ties. He might as easily have gone to Russia. I do not find the clause in the treaties of Switzerland; but in 1872 the Swiss government surrendered to Russia, against the protests of numerous refugees, one Netchaieff, a member of a secret society at Moscow, whose object was the overthrow of the Russian government, on a charge of assassinating a student who was suspected of betraying the society's secrets. In 1878 a Swiss journal called "L'Avant-Garde" published an article in which the writer accepted "the moral responsibility" of Moncasi's attempt to assassinate the king of Spain, as well as of the attempts of Hoedel and Nobiling on the life of the Emperor of Germany, and declared that those sovereigns were obstacles to progress whose presence rendered the transformation of institutions impossible. The Swiss government closed the printing establishment, confiscated the paper, and prosecuted the editor, one Brousse, who was convicted by a jury of having committed an act "contrary to the law of nations, in provoking and inciting persons to assassinate the kings and magistrates of foreign nations." The culprit was sentenced to two months' imprisonment and ten years' banishment. We find, therefore, that, in accordance with these decisions, the Swiss government, in its new extradition law of January 23, 1892, has added to the clause that "extradition shall not be accorded for political offences," the provision that "it shall be accorded, even when the culprit alleges a political motive or object, if the act for which it is demanded constitutes principally a common crime."

The British extradition treaties all conform in the matter of political offences to the language of the Act of Parliament of 1870, which simply provides for the exemption of political offenders. But, what do their highest judicial authorities say as to the meaning of that provision? In 1878 a royal commission was appointed to prepare a report on the subject of extradition. This commission was composed of Sir Alexander Cockburn, Chief Justice of England; Lord Selborne, formerly Lord Chancellor; Baron Blackburn and Sir Richard Baggallay, of the Court of Appeals; Mr. Russell Gurney, Recorder of London; Sir John Rose, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Sir William Vernon Harcourt and Mr. Torrens. These eminent authorities, while reporting that political offenders should not be given up, unanimously declared:

"But it becomes a very different thing when, in furtherance of some political or pretended political purpose, some foul crime, such as assassination or incendiarism, is committed. Thus, attempts by conspirators to assassinate a reigning

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sovereign,—regardless, perhaps, that in doing so other lives may be sacrificed; or the setting fire to a prison, at the risk of burning all those within it, or the murder of the police, for the purpose of rescuing prisoners in custody for political offences, are crimes in respect of which—though the motive was a political one—we cannot think that any immunity should be afforded. Civil war and insurrection take place openly, in the face of day, and may, or may not, be justified or excused by circumstances; but assassination or other forms of revolting crimes lose none of their atrocity from their connection with political motives."

Subsequently Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, in his great work on the history of the criminal law of England, said that to interpret the expression, "political offence" in the British extradition acts to mean any offence committed in order to obtain a political object would "cover all crimes committed under the orders of any secret political society, such for instance, as assassination, arson, robbery or forgery. It is monstrous to suppose that this interpretation can be the true one."

In the face of these declarations of eminent British lawyers and statesmen, it is said that the British government has always refused to surrender "political assassins." If a single case exists in which the British government has assumed that position, it should not be withheld from us. Vague allusions have been made to the case of Orsini, who attempted to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon III.; but Orsini was arrested in Paris and was there duly executed. The only other case to which we have been referred is that of Castioni, out of which a precedent is created by the easy method of calling him an "assassin." Castioni was an active participant in an insurrection in the Canton of Ticino. In the course of the insurrection a large body of citizens—the court called them a "multitude"—rose against the government, seized the arsenal and appropriated the arms, took possession of the government palace, disarmed the police, imprisoned certain members of the government, and established a provisional government which they maintained till it was overthrown by the federal army. In the taking of the government palace shots were fired and a member of the government, named Rossi, was killed; and it was alleged that the shot that killed him was fired by Castioni. The Court of Queen's Bench held that the conditions constituted a state of war in the canton, and that the killing of Rossi was not murder, but merely an incident of the insurrection and as such a political offence. If Castioni was an assassin, America may reckon her assassins by the thousands.

In 1880 the Institute of International Law, an association of pub-

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licists from all quarters of the globe, and comprising such eminent British representatives as Holland, Lorimer, Twiss, Westlake, Baker, Dicey, Hall, and Montague Bernard, all of whom were present at the session of 1880, which was held at Oxford, resolved that, while "extradition ought not to take place for political offences," yet "acts which unite in themselves all the characteristics of crimes at common law (assassinations, arson, theft, etc.) should not be exempted from extradition on the sole ground of the political intention of their perpetrators." I am not aware that this resolution has been referred to in any of the attacks on the Russian treaty, but it has been stated that "a majority" of the Institute were of opinion that it would be a violation of the principles of jurisprudence to declare by law or by treaty that an attempt against the life of the head of a state "should not be considered a political crime in any case." While I am unable to find in the proceedings of the Institute the expression of such an opinion, I do not doubt that all the members entertained it. I confess that I, as a very humble associate of the Institute, share that opinion. Though "a man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm," it has never been imagined that the head of a state was so far below all other human beings in the scale of political importance, that an attempt against his life might not in any case be considered a political offence. The resolution I have quoted clearly implies that it may be so, as also do the treaties when they specify "murder or assassination" and "poisoning" as the cases in which such an attempt shall not be considered a political offence.

At the meeting of the Institute at Geneva in 1892, the subject was again considered, and new resolutions were substituted for those adopted at Oxford. In the new resolutions it was declared that extradition ought not to be granted for crimes or offences "purely" political, and from that category were excluded, as offences against moral and common law, "assassination, murder, poisoning, mutilations and serious wounds committed voluntarily and with premeditation, attempts at crimes of that character," etc.

What has been the view of the law in the United States? On Sunday, March 13, 1880, Alexander II., of Russia, was assassinated in the streets of St. Petersburg, while on his way to the Winter Palace, by agents of the Nihilists. On the following day, the Senate of the United States, then in special session, unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

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"Whereas the Senate of the United States of America, now convened in special session, has been informed of the death, by unlawful and inhuman violence, of His Majesty the Emperor Alexander II., of Russia,

"*Resolved*, That the Senate unites its voice with all civilized people in denouncing assassination as a means of redress for any grievances, either real or imaginary.

"2. That, remembering and cherishing with satisfaction the relations of general friendship that have always existed between the people and the governments of Russia and of the United States, to the strengthening and maintenance of which the late Emperor has earnestly contributed his great influence, the Senate extends to the government and people of Russia its sincere condolence in this sad national bereavement.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate deliver a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, with the request that he communicate the same to the Russian Government."

The public opinion of the time may further be illustrated by a few expressions of the press in the city of New York. The "Evening Post" declared that "for a deed like this, a crime against God and man, there can be no excuse that men of courage and honor can afford to listen to, and none therefore we hope to which any true American will give voice." The "Times" described the assassination as the act of "savage men and half-crazed women," a "hideous and soulless band," and said that "now, if never before, Nihilism unmasks and stands revealed as the chief foe of the liberty of the Russian people." "Alexander the liberator it is who has been foully murdered in his own capital," exclaimed the "Tribune." "Whatever," said the "Sun," "the purpose of the assassin may be, assassination is a means too cowardly, too hateful, too base, to be employed by anyone created in the image of God. . . . Remember the name of Lincoln, and forever, and in all cases and in all circumstances, hate and detest the bare idea of assassination."

With the opinions of our statesmen and our press, the opinions of our publicists are in full accord. In 1885 Judge Cooley, Mr. Geo. Ticknor Curtis and President Angell, discussed in the "North American Review," under the title of "The Extradition of Dynamite Criminals," the subject of "political assassinations." Judge Cooley, while explicitly declaring that the assassin of Alexander II. could have claimed no exemption from surrender for murder under an extradition treaty, said:

"Methods and agencies are immaterial, and the homicide would be required to show, in resisting extradition, that he had a proper political end in view in what he did. As no attempted revolution was then in progress, and the deed was an isolated act of destruction, the most that could be said for it would be,

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that it was hoped by means of it to inspire such terror among the governing class as would force concessions in the direction of popular liberty. If that excuse were advanced in this country, on behalf of one who had slain the ruler of another, it would be necessary for the executive in dealing with it, to face the fact that whatever doctrine was applied in the case of Emperor or King, must be applied in the case of President as well. If we refuse to extradite the slayer of one of these, on the ground that his act was political, other countries must on the same ground refuse to return any assassin that may escape to them after killing a President. This is self-evident; no one country can concede to another a protection for its rulers that is not reciprocated. No doubt it would be said in such a case that dynamite crimes are only committed as a means of relief from intolerable tyranny; but any such suggestion would be without force in a country two of whose rulers have been assassinated in a single generation."

Mr. Curtis said:

"That individuals holding no public authority derived from a regular and established, or from a revolutionary or insurrectionary, government shall not be permitted to carry on war in any form, upon any pretext, has long been one of the maxims of public law. Civilized society is founded on a code of public morality, which forbids the idea that private individuals should find any immunity from acts of violence against persons or property or public order, in any real or supposed grievance they or others may undertake to avenge or to redress."

President Angell said:

"The men that commit what are called in these days dynamite crimes, attempt to shelter themselves against extradition under this principle of exempting political offenders. They say that their deeds are all committed with a political aim. They strive to assassinate sovereigns and police-officers in order to reform governments. I believe their plea for exemption from extradition should be treated as invalid. Take the crime that can with most plausibility be called political, the assassination by dynamite of the sovereign. This may be committed with a political aim, and may have a political effect. But in all civilized lands assassination has been considered utterly unjustifiable, even in times of open war. The Roman consuls sent back to Pyrrhus the servant that offered to poison him. The man that resorts to assassination is entitled to no immunities. The moral sense of mankind brands him as a foul murderer, whom all nations should rejoice to bring to justice. It is incompatible with the safety of society that a political end should be sought by such means."

Stepniak tells us that "the men who have actively participated in attempts against the Czar are few." In reality they no more represent the mass of the Russian people, or of the liberal party in Russia, than the Anarchists of the Haymarket in Chicago, in 1886, represented the people of that city or its discontented and striking laborers. On the contrary they have been and are now the worst enemies of the cause of Russian liberty. History does not disclose an example of reforms more stupendous and far-reaching attempted by a ruler in a brief space of time, than those that were undertaken by Alexander II. of Russia from 1861 to 1866. The freeing of thirty millions of

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serfs, the reorganization of the courts, the concession of substantial freedom of the press, the establishment of local self-government by means of elective assemblies in which the peasantry are represented, the introduction of a new system of land tenures intended for the advantage of the laborer—such were the reforms undertaken by that humane ruler. In time there came the inevitable reaction that follows all attempts at sweeping and radical reformation—a reaction which we have witnessed in our own country in the attempt to invest with full political and civil rights a newly-emancipated race, and of which history abounds in examples. But in their efforts to stem the reaction in Russia, the liberal party encountered in the lawless band of "Terrorists" an ungovernable and implacable foe. The leaders of the Liberal party, instead of trying to assassinate the Emperor, addressed to him a memorial. The Emperor, after considering the matter, signed a proclamation announcing his purpose to convoke a national assembly and to grant a constitutional form of government. The next day, before the proclamation had been made public, he was assassinated.[1]

I can say with Lincoln that I wish "all men everywhere could be free." The worst enemies of freedom are those who by their conduct justify or excuse restrictions on liberty. No government can long stand against the opposition of the people. Any government will be despotic when assailed by assassins. The dagger and the bomb are the international arguments of anarchy.

5. But we are told that Russia will make false requisitions, and that in this course she will be aided by the character of extradition proceedings, which are said to be "silent, almost mysterious." How silent? and how mysterious? Crime itself is a matter of notoriety, especially if it be grave or political. By our statutes all hearings in extradition cases must be "held on land, publicly, and in a room or office easily accessible to the public." If there are any witnesses within reach who can testify in behalf of the accused as to pertinent matters of fact or of law, they may be summoned. The accused is permitted to make his own statement. He is entitled to counsel. Every piece of documentary evidence is thoroughly and publicly examined. For the correction of any errors of the examining magistrate, resort may be had to a higher court, even to the Supreme Court of the United States, before which in the last few years several extradition cases have been brought. It is true that the culprit is

[1] Century Magazine, vol. 13, p. 63.

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not formally and fully tried and convicted; but, what right would we have to try and convict him, and what justice or reason would there be in convicting an offender before he is sent to be tried? But, even after the accused is finally committed for surrender, an appeal may be made to the discretion of the President, which has freely been exercised. I now have in mind a recent case of public record in which the President twice refused to deliver a fugitive to Canada, each refusal following a commitment for surrender; and in the second instance the commitment had been confirmed by so eminent a magistrate as Judge Brewer, then of the Circuit Court. Within a brief period the culprit, concerning whom such great solicitude was exhibited, was arrested on the Canadian frontier by our own authorities as the head of a gang of opium smugglers.

But at any rate Russia will make false and fictitious requisitions. This idea has been most clearly expressed by Stepniak, who declares that "if the treaty becomes a law, no enemy of the Russian Czar is safe in America. . . . The matter would be rather improved than otherwise, if the Americans offered to decapitate or hang right off, without delay, those whom the Russian Czar will deign to point out to them." This is simply incredible! For more than thirty years foreign governments have been maintaining extradition treaties with Russia, and not a single complaint from any of them has been adduced. Before or since that time she has made such treaties with Austria-Hungary, Bavaria, Belgium, Italy, Hesse-Darmstadt, Luxemburg, Monaco, Prussia, the German Empire, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, Spain, and Great Britain. The British treaty was concluded in 1886, and among the more than forty crimes embraced in it are "conspiracy to murder," "malicious injury to property if the offence be indictable," "false imprisonment," and "maliciously wounding or inflicting grievous bodily harm." It also makes "participation" in any of the enumerated crimes extraditable, and stipulates that "extradition may also be granted, at the discretion of the state applied to, in respect of any other crime for which, according to the laws of both the Contracting Parties for the time being in force, the grant can be made." No treaty of the United States is so liberal, and it is impossible to believe that Great Britain, the traditional adversary of Russia, would have made such a treaty if there had been the slightest ground for the charge we are now considering.

It has been asserted that the treaties of European powers with Russia, which in reality are far more comprehensive than that of the

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United States, "are so drawn as to guarantee to extradited persons certain safeguards against Russian barbarities"; and to support this assertion it has been stated that under the treaty between Switzerland and Russia the "conditions of extradition are a speedy trial by jury," the restriction of punishment to the penalty prescribed for the same offence "under Swiss law," and the concession to a person extradited from Switzerland of an option "whether he will serve his term of imprisonment in a Russian or a Swiss prison." It is needless to comment on these statements further than to say that they are absolutely groundless. The treaty contains no such provisions.

To those who have been disquieted by the suggestion that Russia will secretly make away with extradited criminals and refuse to disclose their fate, I do not hesitate to say that the suggestion is, to say the least, unreasonable. For more than five years it was part of my official duty to consider all extradition cases in which the government of the United States was concerned. From motives of scientific interest I frequently followed up the cases that came before me and informed myself as to what became of the alleged criminals. The supposition that a government which had obtained the extradition of a fugitive would refuse promptly and fully to disclose what had been done with him, may, therefore, seem to me more preposterous than at first blush it may appear to those who have not given the subject much consideration. A government on which rested even the suspicion of false and fraudulent evasion of its obligations in matters of extradition would immediately find its demands dishonored and rejected and would be unable to maintain its treaties. This pledge of frankness and good faith doubtless is one of the reasons why predictions of the abuse of the process of extradition are so uniformly discredited.

Contemporaneously with the publication of the Russian treaty, it is constantly declared that it is the most comprehensive of all our extradition treaties. If those who labor under that impression would turn to our other treaties, they would soon be convinced of their error. The list of crimes in the Russian treaty is substantially the same as that in our treaties with Belgium, Japan and Colombia. It is not nearly so comprehensive as the list in our recent treaties with Great Britain, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The effort to find something extraordinary in the treaty is doomed to disappointment, and may well be abandoned.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

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WRITERS IN THE JULY FORUM.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD MOORE (*The Fourth of July—Sonnet*), was born in Philadelphia in 1854, and has been engaged chiefly in railroad work in South America and the United States. He has published several volumes of prose and verse. His "Day Dreams: A Century of Sonnets," was discussed by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell in THE FORUM for June, 1892.

COL. CHARLES MCKNIGHT LEOSER (*The Grand Army as a Pension Agency*), born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1839, was graduated from West Point in May, 1861. He was elected Colonel of the First Fire Zouaves (11th New York Volunteers) to succeed Noah L. Farnham, killed in action at the first battle of Bull Run. In 1862, he joined his own Regiment, the 2d United States Cavalry, with which he served until the autumn of 1864, and was afterwards Provost-Marshal-General of the Army of the Shenandoah till the end of the war, resigning in October, 1865. He was Commander of Noah L. Farnham Post for six years before 1892.

MR. JOHN J. FINN (*Complete History of the Farnham Post Revolt*), was born in Ireland in 1842. He came to this country in 1850 and is one of the oldest members of Typographical Union No. 6. He enlisted in the 11th New York Volunteers in April, 1861, and served with the Regiment until it was mustered out. He is now an officer of the Finance Department of New York City under Comptroller Myers, and is Commander of Noah L. Farnham Independent Veterans, No. 1, formerly Noah L. Farnham Post, G. A. R.

THE REV. DR. LYMAN ABBOTT (*What are a Christian Preacher's Functions?*), born in Massachusetts in 1835, was graduated at the University of the City of New York, was subsequently admitted to the bar, and entered the ministry in 1860. In 1865 he was chosen Secretary of the American Union (Freedmen's) Commission, and in 1869 he resigned the pastorate of the New England Church in New York City to embrace journalism. At Mr. Beecher's death he succeeded to the chief editorship of the "Christian Union," and he also succeeded Mr. Beecher as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Dr. Abbott is the author of numerous books.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE JAMES BRYCE (*The Teaching of Civic Duty*), born in 1838, was educated at Glasgow and Oxford Universities and was elected in 1870 Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. He first entered the House of Commons in 1880, was made Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1886, and is now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Mr. Gladstone's government. He is also a distinguished author, his elaborate work on "The American Commonwealth" having achieved especial popularity and success.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE (*How the Fourth of July should be Celebrated*), daughter of Samuel Ward, a New York banker, was born in 1819. She married in 1843 Dr. S. G. Howe, the noted philanthropist, and for some time before the Civil War conducted with him the Boston "Commonwealth," an anti-slavery paper. In 1861, she wrote her famous "Battle Hymn of the Republic." She is an ardent advocate of woman suffrage, has preached in churches here and abroad, and is the author of several books, poems and plays.

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MR. FRANKLIN H. HEAD (*The World's Fair Balance-Sheet*), was born in 1835 in Oneida County, New York, was graduated in 1856 from Hamilton College, and began to study law under Professor Theodore W. Dwight. He practised law for nine years in Wisconsin, and subsequently removed to Chicago and engaged in the iron business. He has been twice President of the Union League Club of Chicago and is Vice-President of the American Trust and Savings Bank, as well as a leading member of several mercantile firms.

DR. E. FLETCHER INGALS (*Chicago's Sanitary Condition*), born in Illinois in 1848, was graduated from Rush Medical College, Chicago, in 1871. He was appointed Lecturer in that institution, and later Professor of Laryngology, the Practice of Medicine, and Diseases of the Chest. He is also Professor of Diseases of the Throat and Chest in the Northwestern University Woman's Medical School, is a member of several national and local associations, and is the author of standard medical works. He is the retiring President of the Illinois State Medical Society.

MR. JOHN MALONE (*An Actor's Memory of Edwin Booth*), born in Massachusetts in 1851, was admitted to the bar in California in 1874. He was Assistant District Attorney of Santa Clara County until 1878, when he became a member of the stock company of the Baldwin Theatre, San Francisco. He subsequently joined the Ford's Theatre company in Baltimore, was afterwards "leading man" with W. E. Sheridan, the well-known tragedian, and became a principal member of Edwin Booth's Company in 1886. He has since played leading parts with Tommaso Salvini.

MR. EDMUND HUDSON (*The Army as a Military Training-School*), born in Massachusetts in 1848, went to Washington in 1872 as correspondent for the "Boston Herald" and in 1873 described the Vienna Exhibition for the same paper. In 1879 he established the "Army and Navy Register," and in 1883 the "United States Government Advertiser." In 1891, he witnessed the German army manœuvres in Thuringia. He is well known as a writer and lecturer on army topics.

MR. A. M. PALMER (*Why Theatrical Managers Reject Plays*), born in Connecticut in 1838, was graduated at the law school of the University of New York in 1860. In 1869, he became librarian of the Mercantile Library in New York City. From 1872 to 1882 he managed the Union Square Theatre in New York; in 1884, he assumed control of the Madison Square Theatre, and he has since managed a theatre of his own (formerly Wallack's Theatre). He is the president of the Actors' Fund of America and was one of its founders.

MR. LOUIS C. TIFFANY (*American Art Supreme in Colored Glass*), was born in New York in 1848. He studied painting in this country under George Inness and in Paris under Léon Bailly, subsequently travelling for several years in the East. About fifteen years ago, he undertook some glass and decorative work for his own house and was thus led into the art he has since practised as a profession.

PROFESSOR JOHN BASSETT MOORE (*The Russian Extradition Treaty: A Reply to Protests*), was born in Delaware in 1860, was educated at the University of Virginia and admitted to the bar in 1883. In 1885 he was appointed to a position in the State Department and from 1886 to 1891 was Third Assistant Secretary of State. In 1891 he became professor of diplomacy at Columbia College. He is an associate of the Institute of International Law.

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